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KISSE-SANJAN

A Palpable Falsehood

A Paper submitted to the
Twelfth All India Oriental Conference
(History Section)
Benares 1943.

By :

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FOREWORD.

There is a book in Persian verses called "Kisse-Sanjan" which claims to narrate the history of the Parsis in India from the time of the fall of the Sassanian Emperor Yazdegard III down to the sack of Sanjan by Mohmedans. This spurious and unauthentic story of Sanjan has been accepted by many a learned Parsi and Non-Parsi scholar as a serious historical work, although its fallacies are challenged more than once on the authorities of historical facts, with the result that many Parsis are misled to believe that the Zoroastrian immigrants were cowards who fled from their mother-land leaving their king and country to the mercy of the Arab invaders.

As it is a well known fact that the Iranian and Indian Aryans once belonged to the same race and they had intimate social and political connections from the pre-historic period, I had submitted a paper to the Twelfth All India Oriental Conference held at Benares in 1943-44 under the title of "Kisse-Sanjan—a Palpable Falsehood" which was read in the History Section of the said Conference by my friend Mr. Jamshed C. Katrak owing to my unavoidable absence.

With a view to vindicate the honour of our fore-fathers and with the intention of seeking truth in the light of history I have been carrying on an agitation for the last three years against the imaginary Kisse-Sanjan in the Parsi press which has caused a serious headach to several so called Parsi savants supporting the Kisse-Sanjan for reasons best known to themselves. As some of the self-made leaders of the community and the so called Ph. D. scholars still obstinately persist in misleading the Parsis to accept the humiliating Kisse Sanjan as the true history of the Indian Zoroastrians I have deemed it necessary to publish my paper in the form of a booklet to appeal to the wider public to find out the truth and to prove the utter falsity of Kisse Sanjan.

In this booklet I have incorporated a series of articles published by my learned friend Mr. Byramshaw D. Nasikwalla about two years ago in a Parsi weekly on the same subject. I am thankful to Mr. Nasikwalla for allowing me to publish his articles in this booklet.

In preparing this paper I have quoted several authorities including those cited by my friend Lieut. Col. M. S. Irani I. M. S. (Retd) in his valuable work "The story of Sanjan."

I take this opportunity to thank all the learned authors whose works have helped me to prepare this paper. I do not claim to be infallible, but I do claim to be an earnest seeker of truth; and I venture to present this humble work to my co-religionists and others with a sincere desire that it may inspire the scholars to undertake further scientific research in the History of the Parsis in India.

100, Nagdevi Street,
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Jamshedi Naoroz.
21st March 1944.

B. N. BHATHENA.

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SUMMARY.

(1) Kisse-Sanjan the subject matter of this paper is a book in Persian verses written by Bahman Kaikobad, a Parsi Priest of Navsari in 1599. It pretends to give the so-called history of Parsis from the time of the downfall of the Sassanian Empire till the conquest of the supposed Hindu Kingdom of Sanjan by Moslems.

(2) In the absence of any authentic history of Parsis and owing to the propaganda made by the priestly class in support of this spurious history contained in Kisseh, many scholars, Parsis and Non-Parsis are unfortunately led to treat this fantastic Kissa as a Historical work; and it has done serious harm to the Community by paralysing all researches in Parsi History.

(3) There are authentic proofs in existence which prove the entire falsity of the Kisse-Sanjan from the beginning to the end.

(4) The so-called prediction of Avesta, about the destruction of Zoroastrian religion at the hands of Sitamgar, as stated in the beginning of the Kisse is absolutely baseless.

(5) The statement about the Khorasanis hiding for 100 years in mountains of Kohistan has no foundation.

(6) The Parsis are accused by the writer of the Kisseh as treacherous cowards running away to a distant land, leaving their country and the king to their fate to save their skin. This defamatory statement does not receive any support whatsoever from history.

(7) Various authorities are cited in this paper to prove the close and very intimate relations between Iran and India from the pre-historic age.

(8) There were in India several independent Zoroastrian States and Colonies in different parts of India even at the time of the defeat of the last Sassanian King Yazdegard in 641 A. D.

(9) After the fall of the Iranian Empire, the Zoroastrians successfully challenged and defied the authority of the Moslem Khalifas.

(10) There was no religious persecution of the Zoroastrians by the Arabs as the Kisseh ascribes it to be the chief reason for the Khorasanis to leave the country.

(11) King Jadi Rana who is supposed to have given shelter to the helpless Zoroastrian refugees never existed; and he and his supposed Kingdom of Sanjan were created out of the diseased imagination of the author of the Kissa.

(12) The statements regarding King Jadi Rana making some conditions with the Khorasanis and their acceptance of his most humiliating terms have no basis at all.

(13) The narrative of the Parsi refugees building an Atash Behram and consecrating Iranshah therein with the sacred ALAT brought by them has no historical basis.

(14) The narrative of the two battles of Sanjan in which according to the Kisseh a mere handful of Khorasanis once defeated the trained army of 30,000 led by Alef Khan is purely a myth and a humbug.

(15) My object in writing this paper is to disprove all that is said in the Kisseh and to prove that owing to the intimate relations between India and Iran there were various settlements of Parsis in different parts of this country; and that the Port of Tena situated between rivers Tapti and Nerbudda in Surat district had a large Zoroastrian population since very very long time before the Khorasanis came to India.

(16) No Dastur or Mobed Neriosang ever consecrated the Sacred Fire at Sanjan. The great Neriosang, the son of Dhaval, who translated Avesta and Pahalavi Pazand Works into Sanskrit is foisted upon us as the consecrating Dastur. The translator flourished about eight hundred years ago.

(17) The Sixteen Sanskrit Shlokas were not the work of Nériosang, but that of one Aka Adhyaru whom the great Parsi scholar Mr. M. P. Khareghat considers to be a Hindu. These Shlokas were composed long after the Khorasanis came to India.

(18) There are conflicting statements about the date of arrival at Sanjan. A most ludicrous attempt was made by a scholar to convert the Samwat era into the Shaka era.

(19) Parsi Scholars are making mess by depicting Sultan Mahmud as Alauddin Khilji.

(20) The traditional date, viz. 1419 A. D. of the Sacred Fire being brought from Bansda to Navsari by Dahyovad Changa, son of Asha, is also wrong.

(21) In short, the whole Kissa is palpably false and entirely baseless.



KISSE-SANJAN - A PALPABLE FALSEHOOD.

It is a wellknown fact that Iran and India had Social, Political, Commercial and Cultural relations with each other from the dawn of civilisation. It was in Iran that the early Aryans established and developed the most wonderful civilisation which is still the envy of world. It was in Iran that the Aryans realised the conception of God and developed the world-famous Aryan Philosophy of the oneness of God and Man. Mr. Jatindra Mohan Chatterjee, M. A. in his learned work "The Ethical conceptions of the Gatha" says that "Zarthusra is as much a Prophet of the Vedic religion as Ramchandra and as much a Reformer of the Vedic Society, as Gautam Buddha. All that Athravan Zarthusra did was to emphasise the Ahuraworship - the same Asura-worship as is inculcated in the Rigveda. That the Rigveda enjoins Asura-Worship (which Zarthusra undertook to popularise) may be read by anybody if he looks up the 55th hymn of the third book of the Rigved. The burden of this song which is repeated in all the 22 stanzas of the hymn, may aptly form the creed and watchword of Hindu-Parsi unity". (Preface, P. 4.)

We find clear evidence of this early connections between Iran and India from Avesta writings like the Vendidad and Yashts, from the rock records of Darius the Great on Bistun, from classical writers like Herodotus and Pliny, from Pahlavi works like Karnamak and Madigan-i-chatrang, from Arab Historians like Tabari and Albiruni, from Persian sources like Shah-nameh, Kershasp nameh, Barzo nameh, and Framroz nameh, from archaeological discoveries and from ethnical, linguistical and numismatical researches by eminent scientists and scholars.

KISSE-SANJAN BEGINS WITH FALSEHOOD.

Kisse-Sanjan was written by Bahman Kaikobad, a Parsi Priest of Navsari in the year 1599 A. D.

In Kisse-Sanjan or the story of Sanjan, a fantastic story of the supposed history of the Parsis from the time of the downfall of the Sassanian Empire is given. The writer of this palpable falsehood

wants us to believe that after the defeat of the last Sassanian Emperor Yazdehcard III, the Parsis of Khorasan hid themselves for 100 years in Kohistan, then they passed 15 years in Hormuz and finally came to India by sea, first at Div and then settled in Sanjan by accepting most humiliating terms at the hands of Jadi Rana - the supposed king of Sanjan. My object in presenting this paper is to show that the "KISSA" is full of fantastic imagination and falsehood from the beginning to the end. It is not based on any historical documents or manuscripts, it does not give the dates of any important event, nor does it give the names of most important historical personalities; it is based on the oral story told by a learned old priest whose name is not mentioned, though the writer has taken care to mention his own name together with that of his father and forefather. As there was no written record nor any oral tradition nor any other source of information available, the writer of the Kisse Sanjan obtained necessary information orally from a learned old Priest which was drastically curtailed by him for no reason whatsoever; and this amazing fiction is boldly presented to us as a recorded history of the Parsis in India. This story has been accepted by many a learned Parsi scholar, for reasons best known to themselves, as a historical work; and by doing so they have, in my opinion, done immense harm as my friend Lieut. Colonel M. S. Irani, I. M. S. (Rtd) rightly laments. He says:—"It has paralysed all research into Parsi History since their arrival in India; as this somewhat flattering account has been blindly accepted without any critical examination, not only by Parsi writers but by European historians also and it has found a place in serious history. Parsi writers have stretched their imagination beyond breaking point; and used the most ingenious and far-fetched arguments to prove many improbable episodes described in the story, and to reconcile the chronological and historical errors and even to prove the existence of the imaginary King Jadi Rana of Sanjan." (The Story of Sanjan, P. 3).

According to the story as narrated to the author of Kisse Sanjan by the unnamed Priest, it was predicted in Avesta that the good religion—Zoroastrianism—would be destroyed three times. It would suffer at the hands of a King whose name would be Sitamgar (Tyrant). This is absolutely false and without any

foundation, as no king of such a name has ever ruled over Iran. Lieut. Colonel Irani says:—"The legendary foreign King Zuhhak, who conquered Iran and oppressed the Nation as described in Shah-nameh, lived long before the time of Zoroaster. From the time of Zoroaster till the downfall of the Achæminian dynasty at the hands of Alexander there is no record—nor even a tradition that the religion had suffered any harm; so this part of the story is also not true."

"Further on," proceeds Lieut. Colonel Irani, "he states that 300 years after Alexander, King Ardeshir came to the throne and restored the religion. As a matter of fact Ardeshir ascended the throne of Iran in 226 A. Ch. after defeating the last Parthian King Artabanus (Ardvan) which event took place 557 years after the conquest of Alexander and not 300". This shows that the Kisse begins from a palpable falsehood; and later on I will make an attempt to prove that it also ends with falsehood.

The Kisse Sanjan says that the religion was destroyed for the third time one-thousand years after Zoroaster. So according to this so-called history of the Parsis the date of the Parsi Prophet could be very easily determined, about which great savants and theologians have carried out unsuccessful research till the present day. King Yazdehcard lost his throne in 641; and as this event is said to have happened 1000 years after Zoroaster, the latter must have lived about 358 B. C. i. e. during the time of the Achæmenian King Artaxerxes III, which is not true, because we know that the Prophet flourished during the reign of Kiyanian King Vistasp whose date is also not determined till now.

EARLY IRANIAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA.

The writer of Kisse-Sanjan and his supporters believe that the Zoroastrians settled in India in about 775 or 776, A. D. These worthies do not care a jot for historical facts. In their anxiety to thrust upon us the imaginary Kisse Sanjan as a serious historical work, they have forgotten that the forefathers of Iranians and Indians once lived together in the home of the Aryans, the Airyane Vajra or Iranvez. It is not yet settled whether this home was

situated in the North Polar Region or in the Tibetan plateau or in Panjab. Not only after but even before the separation for various reasons of the two peoples, Iranians in large numbers had settled in the Region called "HAFTA HINDU" in Vendidad, that is the region surrounding the seven tributaries of the great river Hindu i.e. Sindhu. Later there remained only five rivers out of these seven; hence the term "Punjab". This area along with Kashmir was conquered and reconquered from the time of King Hoshang—the first Iranian law-giver about twelve thousand years ago, by various Kings like Jamshid, Faridun, Minocheher, Kaikhushru, Vishtashpa, Darius the Great, Xerxes, Ardeshir, Shahpur the Great, Khushro the Great, Behramgore, Naushirwan Adil etc.

Long, long before the conquest of Iran by the Arabs thirteen centuries ago, the followers of the religion of Mazda and of the faith of the blessed prophet Zarthustra Spitama, had settled in the provinces now known as Sind, Punjab, Kashmir and Gujarat. It would be too absurd to imagine that all these Irani Aryans had merged with the Hindus and other races of India. A good deal of the population of the Parsis in India rightly claim their descent from these ancient Zoroastrians. It is, therefore, futile to claim, as is being done by some Parsi scholars, that the present day Parsis owe their descent exclusively to that small band of Khorasani Zoroastrians who fled from Iran to India after the Arab conquest to save their skin.

Innumerable references in History point out that very intimate political and commercial relations existed between Iran and India from very ancient times. In 512 B. C. Darius I, conquered Northern provinces of India; and since then even some parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar were under the control of Iranian Monarchs, and were administered by satraps appointed by them. Numismatic evidence definitely prove that the satraps ruled from the first to the end of the fourth Century of the Christian era over Western India including Gujarat, Saurashtra (Modern Kathiawar), Cutch, Sind, Malwa and North Konkan. (Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraj, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society B. B., July 1890).

In the inscription of Darius I, on the famous rocks of Bistun, India is mentioned as a country conquered by that great Monarch, and from which he was receiving a tribute. Herodotus giving valuable information regarding the relations between India and Iran mentions that in 479 B. C. Indian Archers were fighting in the army of Xerxes against the Greeks at Plataea. The Eastern boundry of the Iranian Empire extended to the south of river Sindhu. During Parthian rule Mithradat I (209-170 B. C.) had conquered India as far as the river Jhelum and appointed local rulers as satraps in the conquered territories. The Indian rulers of Taxillā and Muttra began to be called satraps from this date. Kushan coins of the third Century of the Christian era have a Fire-altar on the obverse, and clearly show very strong Iranian influence (Lieut. Col. M. S. Irani—The story of Sanjan, pp. 40-41).

Giving further proof of the early Indo-Iranian connections, Lieut. Col. Irani says :—"The first Sassanian Emperor Ardeshir I (226-240) invaded India and came as far as Sirhind; and returned after receiving homage from the King and large quantities of Pearls, Jewels, Gold, Elephants by way of tribute. The fifth Sassanian Emperor Behram II (275-283) came through Sistan and entered Punjab; but further details of his expedition are not known. Hormuzd II (300-309) also visited Kabul and Punjab, and married a Kushan Princess of Kabul. Shapur II gained his victory over the Romans at Amida in 360 A. Ch. with the help of Indian Elephants and Kushan troops. The Paikuli inscriptions of Narsi (283-300) A. Ch. refer to Hind as a dependency..... this dependency included many States and provinces whose Rulers came to pay him homage at the time of his accession to the throne."

"The story of the visit of Behram V, nicknamed Gor (420-439 A. Ch.) to the Court of the Hindu King of Kanauj, Basudev, is well known and is described in detail by Firdusi. Behram disguised himself as an ambassador from his own court; and with a letter to Hindu King went to his Court where he was well received and stayed there for some time. He fell in love with the daughter of his host and married her. Before returning

to Iran with his bride he disclosed his identity. It is believed that he imported into Iran from India a very large number of professional wandering singers and dancers and that the modern Iranian Luris or wandering gypsies are the descendants of these singers. Nowshirwan the just, calls himself King of Iran and Hind. All this shows that there was considerable intercourse between these two Aryan Countries during the Sassanian period (Ibid, pp. 41-42).

IRANIAN RULE IN INDIA.

Let us now turn to some historical and other records of well known scholars and travellers about the Iranian Rule in India, and about the agelong connection between the two countries in the sphere of civilisation, culture, architecture, commerce etc.

According to Renaud's Abul-Fida (Chapter 77) we find that "under the Arsacidæ or Parthian dynasty, the Persians took a great part in Oriental navigation. There was a considerable Indian trade upto the Persian Gulf and by land to Palmyra; and it seems to have been under the Parthian influence that the Persians overcame their horror of sea, and rose to be the greatest seafarers of the East. The trade connection between the Thana Coast and the Parthian rulers in the Persian Gulf has a special interest at this period, as in the latter part of the first Century after Christ the Andhras were driven from the Konkan and North Deccan by foreigners apparently from Northern India who founded the Indo-Parthian Dynasty." (Parsis of Ancient India by Mr. S. K. Hodiwala, P. 26).

The era of Valabhi dynasty dating from 319 A. D. is generally admitted. Col. Todd gives 524 A. D. as the date of the sack of Valabhi; and the evidence from their coins show that their (Valabhi) Empire continued atleast some two centuries. Their downfall was attributed by Col. Todd to an army of Parthians (Zoroastrians) and Scythians; but Mr. Elphinstone has suggested that the invaders may have been the Sassanians, probably under Naushirwan the Great. And in this event we have doubtless an

explanation of the occurrence of the "Gadhia" coins.....Barbarized as these are the attempts to delineate the bust and Fire-Altar of the Sassanides, is evident and it is certain, therefore, that either the Sassanian Monarchy obtained a footing in Gujarat, or as is more probable an offshoot of that dynasty succeeded in establishing an Empire there. "KISSE-SANJAN" says that the Zoroastrians had fled from Iran owing to their religious persecution at the hands of fanatic Arabs, but the above historical records prove that at the time of the downfall of Yazdegard in Iran, there were independent Zoroastrian states and settlements in Gujarat and Kathiawar and therefore the story of the "KISSA" of the Parsis coming to India asking for a shelter in the Durbar of Jai Rana of Sanjan falls to the ground.

We also notice from the Persian History that the Sassanian Emperors Behram Gore (420 to 440 A. D.) and Naushirwan Adil (531-579 A. D.) had extended their conquests in several parts of India. Firdusi also states that during Behram Gore's visit to India, the Iranian merchants living in India had waited upon him in the form of a deputation.

Ebn Haukal an Arabian traveller of tenth century says that "some parts (of Hind and Sind) belong to Gubres (Persian Gebran) and a greater portion of this country to Kafars (Persian Kaferan), and Idolators (Persian Boot Parastan)." (The Oriental Geography translated by Sir Ousley Knight, pp. 146-147.)

Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala also supports this view in his famous book "The Parsis of Ancient India". He says that "according to the Arab traveller Misar Bin Mukhalihal there were Fire temples in Cheul in 950 A. D. which date is given as 942 A. D. in Bom. Gaz. Part I pp. 216-217". Some of the supporters of the Kisse Sanjan insist that between 775 A. D. and 916 A. D. only one Fire temple viz. Iranshah was established by the Parsis at Sanjan, the other Fire temple having been built, after an interval of nearly one thousand years, in 1765; but from the above extract, we find clear evidence of the fact that even in 916 A. D. when the Parsis were supposed to be living in Sanjan under the

patronage of Jadi Rana's descendants, there were flourishing Parsi Colonies in Sind, and they had established many Fire temples in their settlements.

Mr. G. K. Nariman, a great Sanskrit and Avesta scholar in his "Notes" on "THE PARSIS OF ANCIENT INDIA" (p. XV) writes:—"I have looked into the cognate Bhavishya Puran, and although portions of the present texts of Bhavishya Puran are palpable interpolations, the light it throws on the tribe or tribes, whose customs so forcibly remind us of our own, represents practices of a tolerable antiquity. It admits of little doubt that there were settlements in India of the Parsis before the conquests of Persia by Islam."

Mr. Justice Newton in his paper on the ancient dynasties of Kathiawad and Gujarat remarks with reference to Indo-Sassanian coins found in Malwa and Gujarat that "the earliest coins are of large size, and their imitation of the Sassanian coins is direct and obvious. But these coins depart more from the original, so that it is not easy at first sight to trace their descent....." Mr. Codrington, Secretary of the Bombay Asiatic Society selected a series of coins to show the gradual change of the Persian head on the obverse and the Fire-Altar on the reverse of the Sassanian coins into the oblong button and the series of dots and lines found on the Gadhia coins." (Cunningham's Archaeological reports XI p. 176, Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, XII p. 325).

"Cunningham came across 13 Fire-Altared Indo-Sassanian Coins at Nagri, about 11 miles north of Chitor; and to them he assigns as the date the 7th Century to the commencement of the 8th Century A. D. (Archæological Reports, VI, pp. 200-201).

"According to one account a large body of Persians landed in Western India early in 7th Century and from one of their leaders whom Wilford believed to be a son of Khosro Parviz, the family of Udaipur is said to have sprung up." (Bombay-Gazetteer, XIII p. 248).

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer notices traditional connections between Valabhi and the Ranas of Mewad with the Sassanian Kings of Persia (250-650 A. D.). In support of this tradition Abul Fazal says that the Ranas of Mewad consider themselves descendants of the Sassanian Shah Naushirwan (531-579). And Todd quotes fuller details from the Persian history of Masser-al-Umra. The link between India and Naushirwan's son Naushizad, who fled from his father in 570 A. D. receives support in the statement of Procopius, that Naushizad found shelter in Belapatan in Gurjaristan (Bombay Gazetteer, Part I, p. 102).

"If the number of the debased Gadhias (coins) which from time to time come to light may be looked on as indicative of rule extending over a century or two, our researches hitherto will bring us down to the commencement or the end of the seventh century of our era and close with a race of Sassanian origin reigning in Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat." (Bombay branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Journal, VII, pp. 30-36).

The late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indarji discussing the Gadhia coins has remarked that "some of the Sassanian Kings (between the 6th and 8th centuries) may have established their rule somewhere in these districts (Malwa), and had their currency issued and their successors (the Chawda and Chalukya of Anhilwad) retained and copied the same type for their coinage" (Asiatic Papers part II, p. 254 by Sir Jiwanji J. Modi.)

I have quoted at length some extracts from various authorities to show the intimate political and social Indo-Iranian relations from the pre-historic Vedic era, right upto the 8th Century of Christian era when according to Kisse-Sanjan the ancestors of the Parsis are supposed to have run away from Iran. We know from unimpeachable authorities cited above that the Sassanians had their independent colonies in Kutch, Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa even at the time of the defeat of King Yazdegerd and the fall of Sassanian dynasty in Iran. The Zoroastrians in Iran had no earthly reason to hide for 100 years in the mountains of Kohistan as they were aware of the existence of Zoroastrian States in India where they had a right to have a shelter. It is possible that

during this tumultuous period, some Zoroastrians might have come to India; but the story narrated in Kisse-Sanjan, of some Khorasania leaving Iran at the risk of their lives to save their ancient religion, their stay for 19 years at Div and their final settlement at Sanjan by accepting some childish and humiliating terms in the Darbar of Jadi Rana is nothing but a humbug and a myth.

The Zoroastrians in Iran after the last battle of Nehavand fought in 641 had not run away like cowards as the author of Kisse-Sanjan naively wants us to believe; but true to their war-like traditions they resisted the Arab invaders for a long time. It is known from history that Shah Yazdezard escaped to Rae and thence to Khorasan with the remnant of his army. After he was treacherously murdered at Merv, his son Prince Firuz with some faithful followers took refuge in China and sought the help of the Chinese Emperor. In 658 the Chinese defeated the Turks and set up an Iranian Govt. in Sijistan with Firuz as its recognised ruler. Later on when he was driven away from Sijistan he again fled to China and lived there for many years with Royal pomp. He built a Fire Temple at Chang-n-gan. If the Khorasanis were true to their salt, they ought to have accompanied their King; or in the alternative they ought to have gone to the adjoining province of Tabaristan where Zoroastrian Chieftains called Ispahbads were ruling independently, defying successfully the authority of the Mohmedan Khalifas. It was easy for the Khorasanis either to go with their King or to join the rank of the brave rebels challenging the Arabs in Tabaristan; but according to Kisse Sanjan, they fled to Kohistan and Hormuz and then sailed for India with the Holy *Alat* to "preserve" the noble religion of the first Prophet of mankind. Only those of perverted mentality or persons having some selfish motive can swallow such an insulting and grossly defamatory statement with regard to our brave and noble ancestors.

The fact is that on the downfall of Yazdezard III, the Parsis in Iran had no cause to leave the country. The Arabs were not able to establish their rule securely for a considerable time; they had not resorted at once to convert the Zoroastrians forcibly

to Islam; and there were powerful and freedom loving Zoroastrian Chieftains who challenged and defied the authority of the conquerors for a long time after the fall of Sassanian Dynasty. When these brave Ispahbads were gallantly giving resistance to the Arab invaders, only the cowards can think of leaving the motherland to her fate and running away to some distant place for safety. If the supporters of Kisse-Sanjan rank their ancestors among the cowards, I have nothing to say. I declare with all the emphasis I command that the whole story of Parsis flying to India owing to their religious persecution is the result of the diseased imagination of a Mobed of Navsari who composed Kisse-Sanjan in Persian verses with a view to glorify the Sanjana Priests as the protectors of the religion of the Parsi community; but in doing so he had to resort to such palpable falsehoods that any man or woman of ordinary common sense can see him through.

THE MYTH OF JADI RANA.

Now we will proceed to examine the myth of Jadi Rana and his Kingdom of Sanjan where according to Kisse-Sanjan the Parsi refugees are supposed to have received shelter on their acceptance of certain conditions. The writer of Kisse-Sanjan has not deemed it necessary to inform us who was ruling at Div where they passed about 19 years without any hindrance. He simply states that after 19 years in Div an astrologer priest consulted his astrological charts and advised the refugees to go to some other place of safety. No reason whatsoever is given by him to leave Div nor any questions were asked; but all the refugees promptly embarked in a ship and sailed towards Gujarat. During the voyage they were threatened by a disastrous storm; so they prayed to Ahur Mazd and offered a vow that in the event of their safe arrival they would instal a Fire Temple (Atash Behram). Soon after the vow was offered, the storm subsided and they safely arrived at Sanjan where Jadi Rana was ruling. This brave king at whose hands they were forced to accept some insulting terms is said to have fainted at the sight of these much oppressed refugees who had left their Mother-country about a century and a half ago. In order to safe-guard himself and his Kingdom from

these helpless foreigners he imposed upon them five ridiculous conditions; and upon their acceptance of the same they were allowed to land at Sanjan.

The first condition of Jadi Rana was that the Priest should explain to him the principles and practices of their religion. The Priest does not sing the sublime songs of the immortal Gathas, he does not explain the highest philosophy of Asha; he seems to have no knowledge of the sublime principles of Vohuman, Vahis-tem man, Spentamanue, Kshathram, Armaiti, and Ameretat: principles by which the Zoroastrian religion has rightly earned the foremost place in all the ancient religions of the world. All that this learned Priest could say to the King of Sanjan was that they worshipped the Sun, the Moon, the Cow, the Fire, Water and other creations of God; and that they wore Kushti or the sacred thread round their waist; and that their women during menstruation did not look at the Sun, the Sky and the Moon, and they also avoided water and fire; and that the same rules were observed by the lying-in women who were segregated for forty days. If this explanation contains the sublime philosophy of the Zoroastrian religion the less said about the so called knowledge of the learned priest the better. This childish statement is nothing but an insult to the first religion of mankind.

The other conditions of Jadi Rana were that the Parsi women should adopt the Indian dress, that the refugees should give up their language, that they should perform their marriages in the evening and lastly they should disarm themselves. Except the last condition of disarming the foreigners, all other conditions are so nonsensical that no one having common intellect would ever think of imposing them on hapless and helpless refugees beseeching for a shelter.

No where in the history of Gujarat or Deccan we find any trace of Jadi Rana or his supposed Kingdom of Sanjan. Some Parsi writers have made many ingenious attempts to find such a king and his dynasty; and by a curious process of juggling with figures and perverting the facts they have tried to prove the arrival of the immigrants to coincide with the reign of Jadi Rana of Kisse-Sanjan.

According to Prof. S. H. Hodiwalla, (Studies in Parsi History, 1920) Vajjad Dev (945-975 A. D.) of North Konkan, the seventh Silhara ruler was Jadi Rana. According to Kisse-Sanjan the Khorasanis lived for 100 years in Kohistan, for 15 years in Hormuz and for 19 years in Div after the fall of Sassanian Dynasty in Iran. From this we can calculate that the year in which the Parsis came to Sanjan should be 775-776 as the Shah of Iran, Yazdegerd was defeated in the year 641 A. D. Dr. A. S. Altekar has in his learned article in "Indian Culture" (Vol II p. 418) definitely proved by the latest authentic evidence available from the numerous Silhara inscriptions found in the Thana District that Vajjad Deva came to the throne in 945. To fill up this gap of two hundred years Prof. S. H. Hodiwalla speaks about a marginal note, heaven only knows made by whom, in one of the manuscript copies of Kisse-Sanjan in which it is mentioned that the Parsis landed at Sanjan in Vikram-Samvat 772 which corresponds to 716 of the Christian era. This makes the confusion worse confounded because we know that Vajjad Dev or the supposed Jadi Rana of Kisse-Sanjan myth was not even born in Samvat 772 when he is alleged to have given shelter to the Khorasani refugees.

Prof. Hodiwalla then resorts to the process of juggling with figures and tells us in all seriousness that the figure 772 should be 992, because he thinks that the unknown person whilst making the marginal note had made a mistake in putting down 772 for 992 as the Devnagari character of the figure 7 resembles 9. Figures 7 & 9 in Devnagari are written thus respectively (७ and ९), but the learned Professor, owing to his zeal of proving the mythical Jadi Rana as a historical personality refuses to see the wide difference between these two figures.

Commenting upon this jugglery of figures Lieut. Col. M. S. Irani, I. M. S. (Rtd.) remarks that "even this peculiar argument and the twisting of facts do not seem to help him out of the difficulty, as in the year 936 A. D. Vajjad Dev's predecessor Goggi Rana (930-945) was on the throne." (vide Dr. A. S. Altekar, Indian Culture, Vol. II p. 402).

The next difficulty was to make Jadi Rana out of Vajjad Dev. Here also Prof. Hodiwalla adopts a curious method on his own initiative and by eliding "Va" from "Vajjad Dev" he makes him Jadd Deva. Further arises the necessity to do away with the word "Deva" and place "Rana" in its stead. The learned Prof. suggests that as the word "Deva" was used in their language in a bad sense to indicate evil persons, the grateful Khorasanis changed Dev into Rana; and thus the Jadi Rana of Kisse-Sanjan is thrust upon us as a historical personality. Never such a ridiculous process was adopted by any serious student of history in support of a ridiculous fiction which undoubtedly the Kisse-Sanjan is.

Even if we admit for the sake of argument that Vajjad Dev the 7th Silhara ruler of North Konkan was Jadi Rana of Kisse-Sanjan, that he was ruling in 936 A. D., that his capital was at Sanjan and not at Thana, and that the name of Sanjan was Hanjam Nagar or Anjuman Nagar, yet this sort of twisting does not help the supporters of the spurious history of Kisse-Sanjan. According to Kisse-Sanjan the descendant of Jadi Rana who gave battle to the army of Alfkhan was killed 700 years after the arrival of Parsis in Sanjan. If we take the year of their landing to be 936, we come to seventeenth century A. D. when whole of Gujarat was under the control of the Mogal Emperors. If we accept the year of 775 as the arrival date of the Irani refugees, we will come to 1275 and 1475 by taking into consideration the periods of 500 and 700 years respectively mentioned in the Kisse-Sanjan. The Silhara dynasty of the fictitious Jadi Rana came to an end in the year 1265 A. D. when the ruler of North Konkan Someshwar was defeated and killed by the Yadav King Mahadeo. This makes it clear that the story of the battle of Sanjan in which the King of Sanjan was defeated after brave resistance given by the Khorasanis is purely imaginary. Lieut. Col. M. S. Irani rightly remarks that "there was no such king and that there was no Hindu kingdom of Sanjan and the whole history as described is nothing more than pure fiction." (The Story of Sanjan p. 56.)

After the Khorasanis were comfortably settled in the city founded by them and called Sanjan, they thought of fulfilling their

vow of building an Atash Behram. So the settlers went to the king, and the priest expressed their desire to erect a Fire Temple for which an extensive area of three fursangs or about nine miles free from the presence of a Juddin or Non-Zoroastrian was necessary. Why these Parsis required such an extensive area to build a Fire Temple or how they obtained necessary funds for it is a mystery. It is strange that there are no signs of the first Fire Temple erected on a plot of land nine miles around from the centre which was granted by the Hindu King Jadi Rana. There is not even a tradition as regards the sight of the first Fire Temple consecrated in India.

The supporters of Kisse-Sanjan have stretched their imagination almost to a breaking point; they have twisted the fact; they invented incredible stories to prove this fiction as a historical work; but no sort of jugglery can create history out of nothing. These worthies have erected a Memorial Pillar at Sanjan to commemorate the great humbug of Kisse-Sanjan. They go to Sanjan on yearly pilgrimage to remember the good deeds of Jadi Rana by making merriment and enjoying picnics for several days there. Surely such conduct on the part of the members of a progressive community like the Parsis deserves no support at the hands of all the lovers of history and seekers of truth.

NERIOSANG DHAVAL.

In his article called "Iranshah more than a millenium old" published in "Jame Jamshed" of 27-10-43, Dr. J. M. Unwalla states regarding the date of the consecration of the sacred Fire Temple at Sanjan and the priests who consecrated it as under:— "According to an ancestral tradition of the Zoroastrian priests the Zoroastrian refugees from Iran enthroned immediately after their landing on the soil of India at Sanjan in a Fire Temple called by them "Iranshah" which two Mobeds Neryosang Dhaval and his cousin Hormuzdiyar Ramiyar who were grand sons of Shahpur Sheheriyar, the brother of the last unfortunate king Yazdegard III had consecrated in 219 A. Y. in accordance with an ancient Zoroastrian custom prevalent in Sassanian period."

As Drs. Maneckji Daver, Hormazdiar Mirza, Jamshed Unwala and other supporters of the imaginary and spurious history of Kisse-Sanjan insist upon their own version inspite of its falsity having been proved by many a learned scholar of repute, I deem it necessary to make some observations to knock the bottom out of their untruths and perversions of facts.

Firstly, the date of consecration is given in numerous old manuscripts quite clearly in figures and in letters as Vikram Samvat 777 i. e. 90 A. Y. and not 219 A. Y. as alleged by Dr. Unwala. (Vide Mr. J. C. Katrak's "Oriental Treasures", pp. 75, 187, 203, 205).

Secondly, the consecration did not occur "immediately after landing at Sanjan" as stated by Dr. Unwala and attributed by him to tradition. The traditional date is distinctly given in various old manuscripts and documents as Samvat Vikramajit year 772 i. e. 85 A. Y. (716 A. D.) as the date of landing at Sanjan, which is five years before the consecration. (Vide History of Sacred Iranshah in Gujarati by Mr. S. K. Hodiwalla, pp. 7-28; and Dr. Unwala's Collection of Colophons etc. p. 117).

Even the Kisse-Sanjan, so much relied on by learned Parsi scholars like Drs. Daver, Mirza and Unwala distinctly indicates that a good deal of time elapsed between the landing, the selection of a place in the desert for abode, making it prosperous, living therein with joy and comfort, doing business and then the installation of Iranshah. (Vide couplets 188-224 of the Kisse-Sanjan; and "History of Iranshah", p. 74).

Even commonsense suggests the lapse of a considerable period. Dr. Unwala's argument of "Numismatic evidence of Sassanian Kings constructing Fire Temples immediately after accession on throne" is simply ridiculous, out of place and inapplicable in the case of the refugees or Irani immigrants without any power.

Dr. Unwala has here made a mess, confusion worse confounded by trying to vainly uphold his friend Dr. Daver whose

absurd Shaka theory (conversion of Samvat 772) was thoroughly exposed and exploded by my learned friend Mr. Katrak in a series of articles.

MYTH ABOUT THE CONSECRATOR.

As regards the two priests who consecrated Iranshah at Sanjan we do not find any trace of their names in any authentic document or tradition. Even in Kisse-Sanjan no names are mentioned. It is significant that neither the Kisse-Sanjan nor the sixteen Sanscrit Shlokas alleged to have been composed by Neryosang Dhaval mentions the date of landing, and none gives the names of either of the two priests, though considerable space is given in the Kissa (couplets 195-224) giving details about the consecration. No manuscripts or documents support the oral tradition that the two Mobeds Neryosang Dhaval and Hormazdyar Ramiyar were cousins or that they were the grand sons of Shahpur Sheheriar, the brother of Shah Yazdezard III.

The fact is that Neriosang Dhaval who translated into Sanskrit the Yasna, Khordeh-Avesta and other Pahalavi and Pazand texts, and Hormazdiar Ramiyar were near contemporaries and flourished about eight hundred years ago as so ably proved by Principal S. H. Hodiwalla in a Government Fellowship lecture delivered by him at K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in 1925 on "The dates of Hormazdiar and Neriosang" (Vide Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 8 pp. 85-132). Even so late as 233 years ago as noticed from a document, Neriosang is represented as translating the Avesta in Sanscrit and consecrating the Iranshah. Thus the translator is thrust upon us as the consecrator (Vide S. K. Hodiwalla's History of Iranshah p. 71). Even the great Avesta Scholar Sheriarji Bharucha held the erroneous view 34 years ago that Neriosang translated Avesta in Sanskrit and explained it to the Hindu king Jadi Rana. (Vide "Meherjirana and Akbar" p. 399).

Parsi priests trace their descent from Neriosang Dhaval and Hormazdiar Ramiyar. Namgrahan lists and colophons of manuscripts support this traditional belief, but in my opinion this

Neriosang Dhaval was the famous translator and not the supposed consecrator of Iranshah.

Mr. Rustom B. Paymaster, the late Parsi chronicler argues "there is a gap of three centuries in all these genealogies" in Mss. etc.; and states "another Dastur Neriosang translated Avesta in Sanskrit" (Vide "Athornan Nameh" Introduction p. 5). These are strange statements from a Parsi chronicler. But his imagination knew no bounds. Dr. West speaks of the translator Neriosang as an "Indian Parsi Priest." Mr. Paymaster calls him "Irani Dastur." The climax of these absurdities is reached when he says that Sheheriar, the so called great grand father of Neriosang had also come to India from Iran along with the Khorasani refugees. That means, as pointed out by Ervad Dara S. Dastur Meherjirana in the introduction (p. 78) of his learned book "Notes and Criticisms" that Neriosang brushed aside his venerable elder and himself became "Dastur" and leader. Mr. Paymaster also says "Neriosang Dhaval and Shahpur Sheheriar belonged to two different priestly families!" (Athornan Nameh, Introduction p. 5.)

As pointed out by Ervad Dara Dastur (Notes and Criticisms, Introduction p. 76, Footnote no. 146) Dr. Unwala is not a believer in the tradition of Dastur Neriosang Dhaval of Jodi Rana's time. And yet with a view simply to save the faces of his friends like Drs. Manekji Daver and Hormazdiar Mirza who hold Neriosang Dhaval to be the Dasturan Dastur or the first Dastur in India, consecrating Iranshah, Dr. Unwala in his afore-said article pompously advises us to respect "ancestral tradition" and quotes his Guru to suit his purpose. To use his own words, his attitude is "like a peg-top without a pointed nail", rolling here and there haphazardly. (Vide Jame Jamshed, 20-9-43.)

I will now speak of some other "ancestral traditions" having no basis of truth connected with the immigrants from Khorasan.

Ervad Sheriarji in his series of "Collected Sanskrit writings of the Parsis" (Part I, Preface; p. II) observes:

"The impression is general among our people that the great Mobed Neriosang Dhaval was the only Zoroastrian who had translated Avesta and Pahlvi-Pazand texts into Sanskrit and had composed the above mentioned Sanskrit Shlokas in order to briefly describe the religion and customs of the Parsis to a Hindu Raja when they first alighted on the shore of India, at Sanjan."

• It was with a view to support this erroneous tradition about Neriosang Dhaval that Dastur Aspindiarji stated in his book "Kadim Tarikh Parsioni Kasar" (1826) that during their 19 years stay at Div, after coming from their native land the Parsis acquired a knowledge of the Indian Vernacular and Sanskrit (p. 126). Div was the first place where Parsis are supposed to have landed, they were quite strangers, it took them years to settle. Is it conceivable they can acquire Sanskrit learning in the midst of numerous difficulties of unsettlement? Prof. S. H. Hodiwalla says in his "Studies in Parsi history" (p. 3) that Aspindiarji has given this information "on his own authority." Mr. S. K. Hodiwalla says (History of Iranshah p. 67) that "In course of time the Parsis learnt the Sanskrit language current at the time." Mr. R. B. Paymaster in the preface of his translation of "Kisse Sanjan" quotes Dr. Sir Jiwanji J. Modi:—

"If we admit that there was a Neriosang who consecrated the first Fire-Temple at Sanjan, then it appears that this Neriosang must be quite a different person from the wellknown Neriosang who gave us the Sanskrit Versions". The words "if we admit" in the above extract are significant. Ervad Dara Dastur rightly remarks that "the tradition current at present is entirely erroneous." (Notes and Criticisms: Introduction p. 77.) According to him Neriosang must have consecrated the Iranshah at about 80 years of age; and it must have taken him many many years thereafter to acquire a mastery of Sanskrit and translate therein the Avesta and Pahlvi works. The Kisse-Sanjan devotes 45 couplets (140-184) towards the description of the "Dastur" explaining the religious customs to the Raja. If Neriosang was such a famous personage, why has not his name been mentioned even for once in the Kisseh? And why should Parsi scholars take as true what is

untrue now, after three centuries and a half after the author of the Kisse-Sanjan who himself is strangely silent about Neriosang Dhaval, the so called consecrator of Iranshah?

THE 16 SANSKRIT SHLOKAS.

Mr. S. K. Hodiwalla with a view to prove the composition of the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas by Neriosang Dhaval states in "Parsis of Ancient India" (Chap. 9) that the author of Kisse-Sanjan borrowed some of his statements from the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas. But it is agreed by almost all the scholars that they were not composed at the time of the Parsis' landing in Sanjan.

The late Mr. M. P. Khareghat says :—"As to the age of the Shlokas, one can make no definite assertion, save that they were known towards the end of the 17th century A. D. It is possible that they were written some centuries before; but at present there appears no reliable ground for asserting so." (Parsis of Ancient India, preface, IV-VIII pp; and "Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis," Part VI, preface p. VIII).

Mr. S. K. Hodiwalla believes them to have been composed in 14th century A. D. (Vide History of Iranshah p. 64.)

The age question of the Shlokas smashes the supposed authorship of Dastur or Mobed Neriosang. From several old manuscripts of the Sanskrit Shlokas and from some old documents, we find the author to be one "Aka Adhyaru or Ako Adhyaru". Dr. Unwala in his pamphlet "A short History of the religious movement of the Parsis" calls the author to be "a Mobed named Aka Adhyaru"; but the word "Adhyaru" used as a common noun means itself "priest" or "Mobed". Mr. Khareghat thinks Aka to be a Hindu. Mobed Chanda wrote "Chanda Prakash" in Sanskrit in 1566 A. D.; and Dinidaru Bahman translated the "Pazand Ashirwad" in Sanskrit. With reference to these translators and authors Ervad Shereriarji says that "whether these old Parsi Sanskritists were contemporaries of each other or they flourished at different periods.....are subjects involving a great deal of research" (Vide Collected Sanskrit writings, Part I, Preface, pp. II-III).

Dr. Unwala seems to have blindly imitated above words of Sheriarji and made a mess, when he in his "Short history of the religious movement of the Parsis" says that Aka Adhyaru and Chanda were perhaps contemporaries of Neriosang Dhaval! Ervad Dara Dastur has rightly pointed out this "instance" of Dr. Unwala making a mess by blindly quoting a 'theory' contrary to his own. Ervad Dara Dastur in his "Notes and Criticisms" has devoted a special chapter entitled "Neriosang Dhaval, one or two? Composer of the Shlokas to be a Hindu Brahmin!" (pp. 75-81). He criticises the attitude of the "learned Parsis, who do not wish to foresake the wrong glamour of the name of Dastur Neriosang in spite of historical evidence to the contrary."

"PHILOLOGICAL SURGERY" BY PARSI DOCTORS.

Mr. R. B. Paymaster turns "Aka" into "Aga" and speaks of him as "Mobed Aga!" (Kisse Sanjan, Preface, p. 12). If Neriosang had really come from Khorasan with the immigrants as their leader, his father's name should undoubtedly be an Iranian name. But "Dhaval" is distinctly an Indian name just as "Adhyaru" or "Adhvaryu" is an Indian name. No philologist can deny it. But Parsi Doctors of Philology like Dr. Hormazdiar Mirza want to make us believe that 'Dhaval' is an Iranian name, the name of the father of Neriosang from Iran. (Vide his booklet on Iranshah). He argues that "Dhaval" is derived from "Dahyopat" and quotes Mr. B. T. Anklesaria in support of his argument. These worthies are at liberty to allow their imagination to run riot; but we are sorry for their scholarship, as by no stretch of imagination can "Dahyopat" become "Dhaval." Besides "Dahyopat" is not a proper name, name of a person. It means in Pahlavi "a leader of a city," whereas "Dhaval" is an Indian proper name used by Parsis after they came in close contact with the Hindus long after their arrival from Khorasan.

The great translator Neriosang himself calls him "Neriosang, son of Dhaval" in the preface of his Sanskrit versions of Avesta and Pahlavi Pazand works: नेरियोसंगेन धवल सुतेन. He used neither 'Ervad' nor 'Mobed' nor 'Dastur' as his appellation. (Vide p. I of Sheriarji's Sanskrit writings series, Parts I-IV).

It follows that neither Neriosang nor Aka Adhyaru can be said to have come along with the immigrants. I will again quote here Ervad Dara Dastur, the learned author of "Notes and criticisms":—

"Only the Sanjanas of Udvada who are descended from Neriosang Dhaval (excepting those descendants living in Surat and Navsari) who spread various rumours about their Atash-Behram, take pride for some time past in calling this Indian Parsi priest as Dastur with a view to make people believe him as the consecrator of the Atash Behram". (Vide, Notes and Criticisms p. 79.) Herein we find a clue to the baseless allegation made more than once by Dr. Mirza in his booklet on "Iranshah" and by the nameless "M. D.", its reviewer, that I hold some "secret ulterior motive" (*baten hetoo*) in my articles proving the falsity of Kisse Sanjan. Any man with common sense will atonce perceive whether the learned Doctor with his "priestly satellites" hold such ulterior motives or I.

Prof. Hodiwala who spent his life time on a critical study of Parsi history read some learned papers, years ago, at the Society for making Researches in Zoroastrianism, about this Kisse of Sanjan. The learned president Mr. M. P. Khareghat had termed them as "full of learning and evidential proofs." (Vide, the Society's Report, 1941 p. 91). And yet Dr. M. B. Davar who endeavoured to prove the historicity not only of the Kissa but also of Dastur Aspandiarji's dates given in his book on Kabiseh referred to above, termed at some of the meetings of the above society in 1943, some of Prof. Hodiwala's arguments as "wild and unwarranted conjectures." He went further and styled the Professor's arguments about the traditional landing date at Sanjan as "Philological surgery". Dr. Davar had not the moral courage to say so to Prof. Hodiwala when he read the papers at the society where he (the doctor) was present. Regarding Dr. Davar's "Unwarranted" attack on Prof. Hodiwala I will here quote what my friend Mr. J. C. Katrak stated in an article in the Press Mumbai Vartman of 5-6-43):—

"I assure my learned friend that neither Prof. Hodiwala nor any student from amongst us who do not possess the doctorate degree can at all perform "Philological surgery." Historical or 'Philological Surgery', or even 'Murder' can with ease and immunity be performed by those doctors only who would vainly attempt to prove "Samvat era" as "Shaka era". No further comments are necessary from me.

As a guest of Dr. Davar at the above Society's meeting, I noticed, I am constrained to state, that some of our Parsi scholars, considered to be 'big ones,' are lacking not only in sound scholarship but in gentlemanliness. My above remarks about Parsi scholarship are confirmed by no less an authority than the President of the Eleventh All India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad, Deccan, in December 1941. Mr. G. Yazdani O.B.E., the Conference President in his Presidential address read on 20th December 1941 thus made the stern yet too true remarks about Parsi scholarship:—

"As regards the study of Iranian subjects it may be pointed out for the information of the institutions concerned that according to competent authorities the works published in recent years betray a narrowness of vision and lack of scientific methods particularly on philological grounds." (Vide the Presidential Address, P. 15). So much for the scholarship of the supporters of the spurious history of the Kisse-Sanjan.

Dastur Aspandiar Kamdin, in his "Kadim Tarikh-i-Parsioni Kasar" published in 1826, first incorporated the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas said to have been composed by Neriosang Dhaval. It will be interesting to cite here the opinion of the distinguished scholar, Reverend Dr. A. Fuhrer about the above mentioned book.

"These Shlokas, in which the learned Dastur explained the Mazdyasnian Religion to King Jadi Rana of Sanjan, form the oldest documents relating to the Parsis in India, and it is much to be regretted that the Sanskrit text as found in all the manuscripts at my disposal is very corrupt.

The Sanskrit text published in Gujarati characters by Aspandiarji Kamdinji of Broach in his 'Kadim Tarikh Parsioni Kasar,' Surat (pp. 129-146) is not worthy of being looked at. (Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Journal, Vol. 16, p. 84.)

Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala in the preface of his "Parsis of Ancient India" writes: "The oldest manuscript known which contains only the first two Shlokas was written between 1654 and 1694. Other manuscripts containing all the sixteen Shlokas are of the 18th century or later, and some of them give the name of the author as Aka Dharu or Ako Adhyaru."

Kisse-Sanjan was written in 1599 and the 16 Shlokas are said to have been composed at a late period. If we bear in mind the above facts, it becomes evident that the authenticity of both of them is of a doubtful character. I am inclined to guess that knowing full well the baselessness of Kisse-Sanjan, somebody might have thought that the episodes described therein without any foundation would be questioned in future, and to safeguard the baseless Kisse he might have composed the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas, or got them composed by some Hindu knowing Sanskrit language. These Shlokas were evidently composed to supply some basis to the wild and imaginary story of Sanjan and their origin was attributed to Neriosang Dhaval, the so called consecrator of Iransbah. Many a priest of various religions has sometime or other resorted to such questionable methods to impress their importance upon the laymen of their sect; and it is probable the same practice was followed by Mobed Bahman Kaikobad and his brother priests. No man with common sense, much less a scholar can accept such a got-up story as historical one; and yet I am sorry to say there are learned Parsis with Ph. D. degrees coming forward to waste their energies in making vain and ridiculous attempts to prove the historicity of the baseless story of Sanjan.

PRIEST AGAINST PRIEST.

The author of Kisse Sanjan has distinctly stated that the Khorasanis left their province and hid 100 years in Kohistan after

the defeat of Yazdegard in 641. Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdin, on whom Dr. Manekji Davar relies so much for the dates, gives us a version more absurd and grotesque than that of Kisse Sanjan. Ervad Rabadi in his translation of the Kisse has pointed out that Dastur Aspandiarji "has written incorrectly and misguided the Zoroastrians with a view to claim support for his Kabiseh theory." His dates are so fanciful and irreconcilable with common sense and historical data. For example, he says that the Khorasani Zoroastrians were proficient in Astrology and knew many many years before the battle of Nehavand, from Zand Avesta and Jamaspi, of the downfall of Iran by the Arabs, and therefore they left Khorasan with 'Alat' of religion and all books during the reign of Shah Khushro Parviz when Iran's glory was at its zenith, and remained hidden for 100 years awaiting the defeat of Yazdegard! Never before was the history of Iran perverted in such a shameless manner.

Prof. Hodiwala giving the "reason for all this patch-work" on the part of Aspandiarji, remarks that the "Dastur wanted to get the traditional date for landing at Sanjan viz. Samvat 772 (85 A. Y. and 716 A. D.) fitted into the Kisse account of 100 years in Kohistan and 15 and 19 years in Hormuz and Div. So he "pressed Zand Avesta and Jamaspi into his service." (Vide, Studies in Parsi History, pp. 4-5).

The traditional date of the consecration of the first Fire Temple at Sanjan Viz. Samvat 777 (721 A. D.) is described by Prof. Hodiwala as "nothing more than a conjecture, a corollary of this blundered figure (i. e. 772) for the landing. As Bahman himself is absolutely silent about the period that intervened between the arrival of the refugees and the consecration of the Fire-Temple, and merely says that one day the Dastur waited upon the Raja for permission to build an Atash Behram; it was assumed that many years had not elapsed. Perhaps it was thought by the glossators a matter of filial duty also to believe that their devout ancestors had not allowed an unduly long interval to pass before fulfilling the vow, which they had made in [their time of trouble. Five years were consequently taken to be sufficient for preparations" (Studies in Parsi History, p. 5.)

Various dates are given by different writers for the landing at Sanjan as suited to their fancies: 716, 798, 839, 850, 905 A. D. Some writers believe these years of Vikram Samvat, while others call them the Shaka years. These traditional dates, as Prof. Hodiwala rightly remarks "are still quoted inspite of manifold contradictions and inconsistencies, with an almost unreasoning confidence, by many otherwise well informed persons." (Vide, Studies in Parsi History, P. 1.)

As I have already said, numerous vain attempts are made to prove Jadi Rana to be Vijjad Dev, Vijayaditya, Vinayaditya etc., but nowhere in Silhara history we find mention of Jadi Rana. (Vide Dr. A. S. Altekar's article, 'The Silharas of Western India,' in the Indian Culture, Vol. II No. 3, pp. 393-434). Mr. S. K. Hodiwala in his enthusiasm to prove the existence of Jadi Rana, referred this matter to that learned Sanskrit Scholar the late Sir Ramkrishna G. Bhandarkar, who in his answer dated 29th Oct. 1917 poured cold water over the enthusiasm of the learned Parsi scholar. Even Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was constrained to state that "the evidence for determining what the name was of the Chalukya Prince, who received the Parsis at Navsari is meagre. The Kisse Sanjan was written according to you, about 900 years after the event which it reports. And it is quite possible that facts belonging to different periods or different conditions of things were jumbled together in the tradition reported by the author of the work. And comparing the dates as given in early history of the Deccan, I think it not unlikely that the Prince who admitted the Parsis was Jayashraya, the successor of Shryasrya and second son of Jayasimhavaram to whom the Lata Province was allotted by Vikramaditya."

This letter also conclusively goes against the narrative of the Kissa, as the Kissa speaks of a Jadi Rana giving shelter to the Parsis at Sanjan, while Sir Ramkrishna refers to a Prince of Chalukya Dynasty receiving the Parsis at Navsari; and even for this the evidence is meagre. After wandering in all the wilderness, Prof. Hodiwala was forced to state that "the sooner we relegate these figures as they now are to the limbo of exploded

errors, the better for the early reconstruction on a sound critical basis of our history...Our ignorance of early Parsi history in this country is almost as dense as it was fifty years ago" (Studies in Parsi History, p. 16) I go a step further, and say that unless the Parsi scholars cast away the baseless Kisse Sanjan in the deep water of the Indian Ocean, there is no hope of any reconstruction of the Parsi history.

SINDAN OR SANJAN ?

Some Parsi writers have tried to identify Sindan with modern Sanjan. Ahmed Ibn Yahya known as Biladhuri mentions in "Futuh al Baldan" that Fazal landed an army at Sindan, and captured it in 816 during the reign of Khalif Mamun. Before that, in 802, Mullan Mansur had sacked Sindan and established Mohmadan Rule there. These Moslem Rulers had built a Jame Mosque in Sindan. If as some of the Parsi writers supporting the Kisse Sanjan want us to believe that there was a big Kingdom with its capital at Sanjan under the Hindu Kings, what should we think of the Moslem invasion of Sindan in 802 and 816? Did the Hindu King retire to some jungle, or did he take refuge in the mountain of Bahrot, with the brave Khorasanis, who though only 1400 were able to defeat the big army of 30,000 led by Alef Khan? Even to-day the village is largely populated by Moslems, and as it is historically proved that Sindan was under the rule of the Moslems between 802 to 833, one more nail is thrust in the coffin of the spurious Kisseh.

THE SO CALLED BATTLE OF SANJAN.

Kisse Sanjan gives a graphic account of the first battle of Sanjan (couplets 247-314). Alef Khan had an army of "30000 horsemen, all brave and noted warriors" (Couplet, 256). The Khorasanis, who were disarmed by Jadi Rana 500 or 700 years before, atonce revived their martial spirit, rearmed themselves and collecting an army of a mere handful of 1400, marched against the invaders. Regarding this battle our author says: "Suddenly there was a rout in the Hindu ranks, so that no one could recognise one another in the encounter. Then a devout layman of the

good faith said to his comrades: "I do not behold any of the Hindu friends either in front or rear. The Hindus have run away from the battle field, and except the Behdins no one has remained there. Oh dear friends, this is the time of fight, it is necessary to go into the ranks like Lions" (Couplets, 286-289).

Lieut. Col. M. S. Irani commenting upon this grotesque description of the battle as laid down in the Kisse Sanjan says that "the whole description of the fight is quite childish and is very poor imitation of many a battle described in 'Shahnamah'. This first battle of Sanjan lasted for three days and three nights, just like the battle of Kadesia, the first great engagement between the Arabs and the Iranians." (Vide the Story of Sanjan, p. 72).

In the second battle the Khorasanis were defeated by the Moslems and their leader Ardeshir and the then Hindu Raja the descendant of Jadi Rana, were killed, and the Moslems became the conquerors of Sanjan. The story of Sanjan is completely silent as to what happened after the defeat of Sanjan army and the death of the Hindu Raja.

Is it ever conceivable that an army of 30000 "brave and renowned chosen horsemen" was routed by a mere handful of 1400 Khorasanis? And is it not even more strange to find the Hindu allies of the Parsis running away like cowards from the battlefield? Can any student of Rajput history, can any school boy believe such an absurd story? Is it not an insult to the renowned bravery, famous in history of the Rajputs? Is it not a gross insult of the descendants of Jadi Rana who so generously gave shelter and protection to the helpless refugees? Evidently this part of the Kisse-Sanjan is also unfounded like other imaginary episodes already mentioned in this paper.

Before the battle of Sanjan, according to Kisse-Sanjan, when the news of the coming invasion of Moslems reached Sanjan, and the king sought the help of the Khorasanis, a census was taken and an army of able bodied Parsi soldiers was created. How many of these 1400 Khorasanis survived after the sack of Sanjan

we do not know, nor the author of the Kisse thought it worthwhile to record. The Kisse only says that after the victory of Moslems, the remaining Parsis fled with the sacred Fire to the "mountain of Bahrot in Hind" which is a small hill about eight or nine miles from Sanjan. Here they lived for 12 years to hide themselves from the Moslems. The author has not mentioned the number of the refugees in this mountain, nor how they managed to find the means of livelihood, or obtain necessary supplies of food and water. After spending 12 years in hiding, like the Pandavs of Mahabharat period, they left the place and marched to Bansada situated in the north of Sanjan.

Aspandiarji makes no reference of hiding in the mountain of Bahrot. He says Iranshah was sent to Bansda jungles before the battle with Moslems. This innovation by Aspandiarji, contradicting the Kisse statement, may be termed either misleading; or, if we believe it to be true, it brings the whole Kisse into ridicule.

THE SACRED ALAT.

The Kisse says the Khorasanis had brought with them from Iran the "Alat" that is holy religious requisites like bull's urine, ashes, white bull's hair, necessary for the consecration of a Fire Temple. With this "Alat" they consecrated Iranshah at Sanjan. Aspandiarji also refers to the refugees leaving Khorasan with "Alat" and the sacred books, we know not which. These refugees had come by sea route to India; and according to an "ancestral tradition", 'Alat' brought by sea becomes useless. The question, therefore, naturally arises: was not the Atash Baheram consecrated with such condemned 'Alat' also desecrated, if we are to treat the Kisse story as true.

There is no mention of any Sanjan battle in such well known historical works like Tarikha Fereshte, Tabakkat-i-Akbari, Mirat-i-Sikandari etc. Prof. Hodiwala also says in his 'Studies in Parsi History' (p. 3) that "the sack of Sanjan may with truth be called the standing puzzle of Parsi History". Col. Irani calls it "so childish and manifestly absurd" (Vide Story of Sanjan, p. 77).

It is beyond one's comprehension how the refugees with the sacred Fire remained unnoticed, and unmolested at Bahrot for 12 years by the conquerors who had overrun all these areas. It was "Dahyovad" Changa, son of Asa who brought Iranshah to Navsari from Bansda. Here in couplet 374 of the Kisseh, 'Dahyovad' (Pahlavi 'Dahyopat'), meaning 'Desai or the leader of the city' is clearly used as an epithet as noted above. And yet Dr. Mirza and Mr. Behramgor think we are such fools as to accept their explanations making Dahyopat a proper noun, name of Neriosang's father, Dhaval. These are days of bombs; and it is no wonder if we have to face such "Bombasts. Bombs and Bombshells" from such Doctors. A Persian proverb says: 'Nim Hakim Khatra Jan' meaning, a quack doctor is a dangerous person.

TENA—THE CENTRAL PARSI COLONY.

In the same strain as Dr. J. N. Unwalla speaks of Iranshah more than "a millenium old" the author of the Kisse (C. 96-97) speaking about the downfall of Iran and its religion after Yazdegard III says, when a thousand years passed after Zar-thustra, the true religion came to an end. He also ascribes one millenium for the good religion. Such historical lapses on the part of ignorant Mobed writers of 16th and 17th centuries may be pardoned. But what should we think of our 20th century doctors from Heidelberg and Berlin who try to evolve the History of Parsis out of a baseless and imaginary story written with some ulterior motive on the strength of oral statements of an unnamed and unknown priest?

The traditional date viz. 1419 A. D. of bringing Atash Behram to Navsari is inconsistent with historical data. Changa Asha who is supposed to have brought the Iranshah from Bansda to Navsari may not have been even born in this year. From the word "Thanak" Prof. Hodiwala argues Iranshah was taken to Thana in Salsette District. But we know from history that since the establishment of the independent Kingdom of Gujarat by Muzaffer I (1407-1410) the territories of Thana formed part of his Kingdom till 1429 when a Bahamani general of the Deccan

captured it, but it was retaken by Ahmed I (1410-1442). The Parsis who had suffered so much at the hands of the Moslems could not have even thought of going to Thana with their sacred Fire, which they wanted to preserve at any cost.

The fact is it must be "TENA" and not Thana to which the sacred Fire is stated to have been taken due to some calamity. Tena is referred to in many documents as "Tenah" or "Taneh". Since the beginning of the seventh century the Arabs were attacking various ports in the Bay of Cambay. They attacked Cambay in 636, Broach in 730, the ports of Kathiawar in 758 and 778 and Sindan (probably situated on the coast of Cutch) in 830. We have seen before, that in all the above mentioned places there were small or big Parsi states and settlements of Sassanian origin. The Arabs naturally owing to their enmity with the Iranian Zoroastrians made these places their targets of attacks. I am also inclined to believe that these Arabs were afraid of going to the Island of Piram which was then the head quarters of the pirates; and therefore they attacked the places with Parsi population between the River Tapti and Nerbuda. It is possible they attacked the port of Tena which was then in a flourishing condition; and after landing on the shore captured the town of "Barbhodhan". The distance between the two is about four miles. The latter is even now a predominantly Moslem town. There is no doubt about Tena being one of the principal Parsi Colonies from ancient times. The seven old Dokhmas (Towers of Silence) of this town, in Olpad Taluka in Surat District, between the River Tapti and Nerbuda, now utterly in ruins bear testimony to a large Zoroastrian population in Tena long before the Khorasanis came to India.

A Pahlavi Ms. written in 691 A. Y., 1377 Samvat, (1321 A. D.) by the famous scribe Meherwan Kaikhushru, an Irani priest was written in a Fire-Temple at Tena. The Pahlavi and Sanskrit colophons of this Ms. bear testimony to this. It is stated therein that 'Tanak' or Tena was situated on the "Shore of the sea". This makes it clear the city Thana cannot be the Thana of Bombay, since Thana near Bombay is situated on the river Bassein.

Old Arab Geographers like Al Biruni, Masudi, Idrisi and Abdul Fida clearly mention in their writings that "Taneh" was situated on the sea shore. Masudi by implication places "Taneh" within the dominions of Balhara (Vallabhi) rulers.

(Vide, Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Texts, part II, Introd., pp. 4-8; Prof. S. H. Hodiwala's 'Studies in Parsi History,' pp. 118-133; Elliott and Dowson's History of India, Vol. I pp. 60, 61, 66, 67, 89, 358).

Bringing this discussion to a close I am tempted to quote no less an authority than the world renowned Russian scholar K. Inostrantzev, regarding the spurious nature of the Kisse Sanjan. In his article, entitled "The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Mussalman world in the middle of the 8th century" (published in the Journal of K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 1, 1922, pp. 33-70) the great Russian Savant says:—"This work cannot however be considered a historical monument of the written literature of the Parsis in the exact sense of the word. As far as its outer form is concerned it certainly is related to the common type of Parsi Poetical works. Yet it owes its contents undoubtedly, almost entirely, to the verbal tradition of the Parsi community.....It had to be pointed out that the Quisse-i-Sanjan was written very lately, and its author Bahman Bin Kaikobad Bin Hormazdyar repeatedly points out that his narrative is based on ancient traditions. (Ze Gofte Mubadan).

"The author of the Quisse-i-Sanjan particularly notes, as might be expected considering the general cultural conditions and the character of the tradition his chief authority as "from the words of the Mobeds".

"In the pre-Mussalman epoch, Persian Magi had founded in India a temple of the Sun. Shortly before the appearance of Islam, Yemen had been conquered by the Sassanians. In south Eastern Arabia, a considerable part of the population adhered to the faith of Zoroaster. From that district which was closely connected geographically with Indian littoral, immigration might have proceeded since very remote times by the way of the sea. Nar-

rating about the conquest of Kerman in the middle of the 7th century Balazuri says:—"Many of the inhabitants of Kerman took to flight, some sailed in ships towards the sea, others directed themselves to Mekran, others again to Sagistan". Those who sailed in ships could have gone only to India. Mekran was already a half Indian country, and those who were able to reach the shores of the Indus had no difficulty in penetrating to the Western Coast. We are thus in possession of indications of Parsi emigration to India before the date given by Quisse-i-Sanjan".

I have quoted the great Russian authority at some length in order to show that I am not actuated by some ulterior motive, as alleged more than once by my critics. My only object was, and is, to find out the truth. And all those who care for truth, and nothing but the truth will easily be convinced from authentic historical proofs cited in the paper, that the Kisse Sanjan is a palpable falsehood, and 'a historical hoax' as my friend Lieut. Col. Irani rightly prefers to call it.

KISSE-SANJAN—FALSE FROM BEGINNING TO END.

In this essay I have attempted to prove the falsity of the so-called Parsi History contained in the Kisse Sanjan from beginning to the end. I have proved according to my light that the prediction said to be made in Avesta about the destruction of the religion is false, that the narrative about the flight of Khorasanis is without foundation, as they had no cause to leave their Motherland like cowards and come to India to seek shelter, that there were independent Zoroastrian colonies in India right upto the time of the defeat of Shah Yazdezard in 641, that the story of leaving Div after 19 years and then settling at Sanjan by the grace of Jadi Rana has no basis whatsoever, that Jadi Rana the supposed King of Sanjan and his Kingdom were never in existence, that the consecration of Iranshah, the first Atash Behram built by the Khorasanis in an area of 3 fursangs is imaginary, that the two battles of Sanjan, in which mere handful of Parsis, disarmed five or seven hundred years before, defeated the large army of seasoned soldiers is purely a myth; that the tale of hiding in the

hill of Bahrot with the sacred Fire is a humbug. In short, all the events described in the Kisse Sanjan have been examined in the light of historical data and found to be entirely spurious, false and baseless.

In conclusion my only prayer to Almighty Ahurmazda is that He may be pleased to throw light on the dense and duncce minds of our so called scholars so that the true history of the world-famous Parsi community may see the light of the day; and we the Parsis, owing to our intimative prehistoric connections with the Bharat Varsha or Arya Varta may again be able to become pioneers in this hoary land as we once undoubtedly were. Amen.

KISSEH-I-SANJAN

OR

The Supposed Landing

OF THE

Parsis in Sanjan.

Handwritten notes:
 in the year 350 B.C.
 Zoroaster
 arrived

By:

BYRAMSHA D. NASIKWALA.

Published by

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100, Nagdevi Street,

BOMBAY, 3.

" KISSEH - I - SANJAN "

OR

"The supposed Landing of the Parsis in Sanjan."

(Published in the issues of the *Parsi Weekly "Rathestari,"* from
21st December 1941 to 8th February 1942).

It appears from some traditional accounts that after the death of the last Sassanian Emperor Yazdegard Sheriar, several batches of Iranian Parsis due to persecution and oppression at the hands of their Arab rulers, left their mother-country Iran and came by sea to India. The date when the Parsis first landed and the place where they first settled, are controversial points and have not been definitely proved even upto the present day by any of the Parsi, Hindu or European scholars from any reliable history, document or manuscript.

From historical records we observe that the last Sassanian Emperor Yazdegard Sheriar, had ruled from 632 A. D. to 651 A. D., and that the battle of Nahavand which partially brought an end of the Sassanian rule, was fought in the year 641 A. D. We also notice from the historical records that after his defeat, Yazdegard had roamed about in Iran from place to place and was in the end murdered in the year 651 A. D.

Different versions about the landing of the Parsis are given by different writers, some of which I give below :—

- (a) Kisseh-i-Sanjan states that the Parsis first landed at Diu;
- (b) According to the Gujarati memorandum the Iranian Parsis from Khorasan landed at Sanjan;
- (c) Rev. Henry Lord, who was at Surat in 1621 A. D., in his book "The Discovery of the Banyans and the Parsees" gives an account of the exodus, as he had heard from an Andhiaru friend of his. He states that the Parsis left Jasques (a place in the Persian Gulf) in 7 junks, and five of these junks touched Sumari and the

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occupants landed at Navsari with the permission of the Raja. The remaining junks touched Variav and Cambay and the occupants got themselves settled in Variav and Cambay (Khambat):

- (d) Sir T. Herbert, a well-known traveller and author, who had come to India in 1626 A. D. wrote "Into India these Parsis came in five junks from Jasques, sailing to Surat, when after treaty with the Rajas and Bannians, they got leave to plant:"
- (e) Nicolao Manucci, a Venetian traveller wrote in 1656 A. D.:—"When the Mohomedan religion first got into Persia, the King tried to force them (the Parsis) to become Mahomedans. For this reason, they sent an embassy to the Hindu Prince of Surat, asking him to grant them permission to emigrate into that country with their families."

It will be observed from the above accounts that they are of almost the same generation as that of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan in 1600 A. D. The above accounts also differ to a great extent as regards the place of landing.

Now let us take up "Kisseh-i-Sanjan" which is supposed to have been composed in Persian by Mobed Behman Kaikobad Sanjana in 1600 A. D., that is, nearly 900 years after the advent of the Parsis in India.

It is rather surprising to find that 900 years after the supposed landing of the Parsis, such an account as "Kisseh-i-Sanjan" should see the light of the day, and that too without any proof from some documents or manuscripts. One would therefore hesitate to accept all that is contained in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, more especially when one takes into consideration the lapse of such a long period as 900 years after the event, and that too given from some mythological or traditional story, which in course of time must have certainly tainted and perverted the whole history of the supposed landing of the Parsis in Sanjan.

Ervad Jamshedji Dadabhai Nadershah, L. C. E., a pupil of the late K. R. Cama and an indefatigable student of Iranian subjects, had read before the Third Zoroastrian Conference, his Paper on "Kisseh-i-Sanjan" (in Gujrati) in which he said:—

"Not a single reliable history has been written of the Zoroastrian community after the extermination of the Sassanian Empire. In the absence of such a history the Parsis believe without ascertaining the truth, a kissah (legend) written three centuries ago (in 1599 A. D.) as a history of their advent to and settlement in India; but by our present historical knowledge derived from other sources we find this kissah (legend) to be wholly fictitious.

"In the said legend, written down in the beginning of A. Y. 969 (A. C. 1599) by Mobed Behman Kaikobad Sanjana, an inhabitant of Navsari, from what he had heard from a Dastur, he states that when the rule of the Mahomedans was established in Persia on the death of Yazdegard Sheriar, the last Parsi King, everywhere those who had their affections rooted in Zend and Pazend dispersed and all the Dasturs and Behdins, leaving their houses and gardens, mansions and halls, for the sake of the religion, first fled to a mountainous district and remained there for a hundred years. Afterwards coming to the city of Hormaz and residing there for 15 years, they went thence to Diu in ships with their families and lived there for 19 years. After this they (all) went again on board ship and sailed for Gujrat. During this voyage, being caught in a violent storm, they prayed to God for safety, making a vow that if they reached India safely, they would instal an Atash-Behram there. At last, they landed safely in Sanjan, which was at that time a wholly uninhabited jungle and a barren land. Finding this place to be very good, they selected there a site for their residence and named it Sanjan. At that time a Hindu Rajah by name Jadi Rana was ruling there. After some years, they established here the promised Atash-Behram (in 721 A. D.) When they had lived here about 300 years, some of the people dispersed and went to various cities of India. Some went to Navsari and settled there, some to Bankaner,

some to Broach, some to Variav, some to Ankleshwar and some to Cambay. After the lapse of some years a King of Gujarat by name Mahmud Begada came to know of the Rajah of Sanjan; and 500 years after the arrival of the Behdins in India, the Mahomedans of Champaner invaded the place; and Mahmud Begada came and sat on the throne there. Then all the Behdins carried with them the Atash-Behram to Barod (Bahrot) and remained there for 12 years. Afterwards, taking with them the Atash-Behram they all went to Bansda. When they had lived there for 14 years, a resident of Navsari by name Changa, son of Asa, brought with great respect the Atash-Behram and people of the good religion to Navsari."

"It is distinctly mentioned in the said Kissah that the descriptions of the events which had happened from 200 to nearly 1000 years ago was based on the oral narration of a person. Notwithstanding this, it is to be regretted that even the learned Parsis take this legend for a true history without any ascertainment of the reliability of the stories narrated in it. But before now, a question has justly been raised on the authority of known histories, as to the validity of some of the details given in it. It is related in the Kissah that when, in the second century of the Yazdegardi era, the Parsis first landed in Sanjan, a Rajah by name Jadi Rana was ruling there, and that 200 years before the date of the composition of the Kissah, an army of Mahmud Begada composed of the Mahomedans of Champaner invaded Sanjan and Mahmud Begada sat on its throne. Mr. Pallonji Burjorji Desai has shown at length in his pamphlet entitled "Kissah-e-Sanjan—Ek Tavarikhi Tapas" that both these stories are untenable on historical investigation."

Ervad Nadershah then proceeds to give his reasons in not accepting the legend of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, which I give below:—

"In the 68th chapter of the History of Masudi, called Marvaj-Az-Zahab va Maadan-al-Jaohar, we find from what has been written by him in A. H. 332 (A. Y. 311) that till then there was a considerably large population of Zoroastrians in Irak, Fars,

Kirman, Seistan, Khorasan, Tabaristan, Kohat, Adarbadgan, Arran, Hind, Sind and China."

"We find on P. 83 of the "Pahalvi Texts" that in the 77th year of the Hindustani Era (the 9th Century of the Saka Era; A. Y. 324) on the day Gosh of the month Ardi Bebesht, Dinpanah, the son of Itarpe the son of Din-Panah, completed for Shahzad, the son of Hormuzd, a copy of the Pahalvi Texts when they were in a school at Broach. Afterwards he, Din-Panah, prepared another copy for him on the day Dae-pa-Adar of the month Behman in A. Y. 324 when they were in a Fire-Temple in the same city. From this we see that there was a Zoroastrian population in Broach from about the beginning of the Yazdegardi Era. Again, this inference is also supported by the fact that all the aforesaid names of persons are those used by the Zoroastrians of Persia and unlike those in use among the Zoroastrians of India."

"The colophon of a book of Vendidad with Pahlavi translation in the Parsi (Yazdegardi) year 722 which is now in the library of Copenhagen, and a copy of which is in the library of the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherji Jamspashana (it is a copy of the codex in the East-India House) informs us that its original was copied in Seistan in A. Y. 554 (A. C. 1185) by Ardeshir Bahman. This original of the said Vendidad of Copenhagen was brought to India by Ervad Mahyar Mahmer with him from Seistan where he had gone from Ucha (city situated near River Indus), a city on the River Indus, by order and at the expense of his master; he studied religious and other subjects there for 6 years under the guidance of the Herbad. From this original, a copy was made by Ervad Rustom Mehrvan Marzban Dehashn-aibar who had come to India. This same person transcribed in the middle of the Parsi Year 618 (A. C. 1248) Arda-Viraf and Yosht-Frian; and again at the end of A. Y. 627 (A. C. 1258) he made a copy of Visparad Ghambar (V. the preface of the Zend Texts by Professor Westergard, P. 13). Ustad Peshotan Ram of Broach has made a copy in A. Y. 766 from the transcript of Arda Viraf and Yosht-Frian by Rustom Merwan.

According to the statement of Ustad Peshotan in this book, the City of Broach had been 'a seat of Zend and Pahlavi learning for several centuries.' (V. Zend-Pahlavi (Glossary by Dastur Hoshangji, P. 80, note). But from this also the story of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, which says that the Zoroastrians went and settled in Broach in the 5th century of the Yazdegardi era, appears to be incorrect."

"We perceive from the above colophon that there was a good number of Zoroastrian inhabitants upto A. C. 1185 in Sindh in the City of Uchh situated on the River Indus, one of whom had been to Seistan and brought with him a copy of the Avesta-Pahlavi Vendidad which was copied about 1248 in Broach. We do not know what became of these Zoroastrian citizens of Uchh after 1185. But, we learn from History that the city of Uchh and the surrounding country were invaded several times from A. C. 1205-1257 and that the people were plundered and tyrannized over. In A. C. 1223, the Zoroastrians of Uchh, leaving that city had come down to Gujarat. Thus the old Zoroastrian population of Sindh and Punjab came to an end."

"Hajaj, the Governor of Irak, sent his Commander Mohamad Imam-ud-Din Kasim in 712 to Sindh, in which the City of Uchh is situated, and conquered it. From this time, also Sindh was under the rule of the Mahomedan Caliphs. Nevertheless as we learn from the above account the Zoroastrians continued to live there."

"At the 16th meeting in the 28th year of the Society for making Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion, the late Ervad Tehmurasp Dinshaw Anklesaria, while describing the Parsi and Yazdegardi eras, stated there were signatures of Zoroastrians of Khorasan and Seistan in a Revayat written in A. Y. 880. (A. C. 1511). This shows that it was known even about 400 years ago that there was a population of the Zoroastrians in Eastern Persia (V. the printed Report for 1890-98 of the Society for making Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion, P. 63).

"Even so late as 1874, during my travel in Persia, the Zoroastrians of Kerman informed me that only two years before that date a Zoroastrian had died there, who had come from Afghanistan to reside in Kerman."

"As the Iranian Association is desirous of collecting all the records relating to the history of the immigration of Parsis and of their early settlement in India, I take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Association, two more references to the early settlement of the Parsis in India, which I have noted since the publication of the preceding ones, by adding them here."

8. "A'sar-ul-Bilad" of Zakariya al Kazwini-Saimur: 'A City of Hind near the confines of Sind. The people are very beautiful and handsome, from being born of Turk and Indian parents. There are Musalmans, Christians, Jews and Fire Worshipers there. The merchandise of the Turks is conveyed hither, and the aloes called Saimuri are named from this place. The temple of Saimur is an idol-temple, on the summit of a high eminence, under the charge of keepers. There are idols in it of turquoise and baijadak (a stone like a ruby), which are highly venerated. In the city there are mosques, Christian Churches, Synagogues and Fire-Temples. The infidels do not slaughter animals, nor do they eat flesh, fish or eggs; but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death. This information has been derived from Misar bin Muhallil, author of the Ajaib-ul-Buldan, who travelled into various countries and recorded their wonders.' (P. 97).

"Zakariya, son of Muhammad, is surnamed Kazwini, from the town of Kazwin or Kasbin in Persia, where he was born. He was not a traveller but compiled his works from the writings of Istakhri, Ibn Haukal and others, whom he regularly cited as his authorities. His works were written just after the middle of the 13th Century about 661 A. H. (1263 A. D.) according to Kasiri, or 674 (1275 A. D.) according to Haji Khalfa.....It is curious however that "Ajaib-ul-Buldan" is frequently quoted by Kazwini in the A'saru-i-Bilad, as being the work of Misar bin

Muhalhil, a traveller who went to China and India about 331 A. H. (942 A. D.)" (V. History of India by Sir H. Elliot, Vol. I. pp. 94-95.)

9. "There are some Magians upto the present time (about A. C. 1030) in India, where they are called Maga (V. Albiruni's India, translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, Vol. I. P. 21).

"Thus, we see, that there are evidences, historical and documentary, showing that the Zoroastrians, even after being deprived of their Empire, could and actually did live under the rule of the Mahomedans for centuries in Irak, Fars, Adarbaijan, Tabristan, Kohat, Sogd and Khwarezm; upto the beginning of the 16th century of the Christian era in Khorasan and Eastern Persia; and upto the 13th century in Sindh. Under these circumstances, the story narrated in the "Kisseh-i-Sanjan" appears improbable which tells us on the authority of the oral relation of a person that about a thousand years before the time of the composition of the Kissah, the Zoroastrians of Khorasan on the establishment of the rule of the Mohomedans in Persia fled, leaving their properties, to Sanjan and settled there."

"We have seen above that on the downfall of the Zoroastrian empire, when the Mahomedan rule was established in Khorasan, the Zoroastrian inhabitants were not obliged to leave either their country or their religion, because we find them living there upto the beginning of the 16th century of the Christian era. Further, they resided in Sind for centuries under the government of the same Mahomedan rulers. And at last about the beginning of the 13th century or the 6th era (A. Y.) we find a body of them coming down to Gujarat. The probable inference that can be drawn from these facts is that the large population of the Zoroastrians which existed in Sind and Punjab even after the establishment there of the Mahomedan rule, gradually came down to Gujarat and settled there, and that we are their descendants. But it is our duty now to make further inquiries in the matter and collect evidence" ('The Kissah-i-Sanjan and Dr. Jiwaji J. Modi, published in "Critical Studies of Some Zoroastrian Problems" pp. 10-19, by Ervad Jamshedji Dadabhai Nadershah L.C.E).

After giving a short summary of the paper read before the Third Zoroastrian Conference by that distinguished scholar Mr. Jamshedji Dadabhai Nadershah, adducing reasons in considering the "Kisseh-i-Sanjan" fictitious, I now give below the dates of the supposed landing of the Parsis at Diu and Sanjan, and also of the consecration of the "Iranshah":—

697 A. D.—Supposed landing of the Parsis at Diu;

717 A. D.—Supposed landing of the Parsis at Sanjan;

721 A. D.—Consecration of "Iranshah";

1765 A. D.—Second Fire-Temple consecrated after the advent of the Parsis in India. This was at Navsari.

Sir James Campbell observes that the accepted date among the Parsis for the settlement in Sanjan is the Yazdegardi year 85—716 A. D. given on the authority of Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdini of Broach. Ervad Manekji R. Unwala has got a Manuscript 175 years old which gives the date Yazdegardi 85 (716 A. D.) of the landing of Parsis at Sanjan.

We observe from the preceding pages that only the "Kisseh-i-Sanjan" tells us that the ancestors of the present-day Parsis had first landed at Diu. In this connection, Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala, a distinguished Avesta and Sanskrit Scholar, in his book, "Iranshah" (in Gujarati) at page 31 writes that "when the Parsis first landed at Diu that Island must have been desolate and uninhabited. The Hindu Rajah in whose jurisdiction that Island (Diu) fell, after knowing of a Parsi settlement in Diu, may have claimed tribute from the Parsi settlers".

There is nothing wrong in accepting the suggestion of Mr. Hodiwala that the Parsis, finding the Island of Diu uninhabited, may have made their settlement; for, we find from historical and other records that during the last one or two centuries, the Japanese, Americans, Britishers, Italians, and others have acquired such uninhabited Islands in the Pacific, Mediterranean and other Seas, and made them their own after hoisting their National Flags at such places. However, I do not think Diu Island was

uninhabited and desolate in those days, as we shall find later on that in 700 A. D. the "Parsikas" (Parsis) had their kingdoms and settlements in Gujarat and Kathiawad.

We have also observed in the foregoing pages that when the Parsis landed in Sanjan there was a Hindu Rajah by name Jadi Rana, ruling over the place. Uptil now, no scholar of repute has been able to prove conclusively that at that time a Hindu Rajah by the name of Jadi Rana was ruling over Sanjan who allowed the Parsis to settle in his territory. Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala, who was rather enthusiastic about the story contained in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, had found names Vijayaditya and Jayashrya (of Chalukya dynasty of Gujarat) as applying to Jadi Rana and had written about it to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (Professor of Sanskrit) and had received a reply from that distinguished Professor on 29th October 1917, which I give below :—

"The evidence for determining what the name was of the Chalukya Prince, who received the Parsis at Navsari is meagre. The Kisseh-i-Sanjan was written, according to date given by you, about 900 years after the event, which it reports, and it is quite possible, that facts belonging to different periods or different conditions of things were jumbled together in the tradition reported by the author of the work. Still taking the reading Jadi Rana to be correct, and comparing the dates as given in the Early History of the Dekkan, I think it not unlikely, that the Prince, who admitted the Parsis was Jayashraya, the successor of Shryasrya and second son of Jayasimhavarman, to whom the Lata Province was allotted by Vikramaditya".

The above letter is very important, and I should like to draw the attention of the reader to the same. Even in this letter we find a conflict of opinion as regards the name of Jadi Rana. If we read Dr. Bhandarkar's letter carefully, we are forced to come to the conclusion that "great reliance should not be put on Kisseh-i-Sanjan, more especially when facts belonging to "different periods or different conditions of things

must have been jumbled together" during the long period of 900 years.

Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala while referring the above question to Dr. Sir Bhandarkar had interpreted the word "Parasikas" as Parsi refugees who had paid tributes to Jadi Rana. Mr. Muncherji P. Kharegat, I. C. S. (retired), a distinguished scholar of Sanskrit and Avesta, who wrote preface of Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala's book "Parsis of Ancient India" did not agree with Mr. Hodiwala on the word 'Parasika' occurring in one or two of the grants and wrote :—

"This inference is based on the fact that in three of his grants Vijayaditya has described his father Vinayaditya as having levied tribute from several persons including a Parasika or Parsikas. The words are the same in all three grants, and may mean either "a king of a Persian island" or "King of Persians", or simply "Persians". It is possible that there is here an allusion to the payment of tribute by the Parsee refugees, who landed at Sanjan; but having regard to the extremely vague language used one can hardly say more."

"To give an idea of this vagueness I will mention a few interpretations, which can be plausibly put upon it. It is quite possible that it refers to the levy of tribute from Nestorian Christians from Persian territory as conjectured at first by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (See V. Smith's History, P. 222). It is quite possible that it refers to an embassy from a Persian chief, either Mahomedans or Zoroastrians with complimentary gifts, which patriotism has interpreted as tribute; or perhaps it was payment for commercial purposes or services rendered. It is even possible that the tribute consisted of nothing more than import dues levied on goods or ships coming from Persian ports. For this very reason the Gujarat Sultans considered the ports of Persia, Arabia, China and even Malta as paying tribute to them (See Bayley's History of Gujarat, page 18 and 19.)"

Mr. Kharegat further wrote that "if there had been any reference to Sanjan or a landing of Parsis or to giving asylum

to Parsis within the King's own territory, there would have been good reason to connect the language with the event in question."

It may also be noted in passing that the correspondence on the subject between Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala and Sir Bhandarkar had taken place in the year 1917. After some ten years' more research work, Mr. Hodiwala had published in the year 1927 a very important work called "The Sacred Iranshah" (in Gujarati) in which he had come to the conclusion on the authority of Hindu scholars that the Parsi emigrants had left Iran for India as they had their independent States and Colonies in Kathiawad and Sindh at that time. The details supplied in his above work by Mr. Hodiwala will be found in the succeeding pages.

Now let us turn to some historical and other records of well-known scholars and travellers in the matter of Iranian rule in India and also of age-long connection of Iran with India in the matter of civilization, architecture, commerce etc.

- (a) According to Renaud's "Abul-Fida", Chapter 77, we find that "under the Arsacidae or Parthian dynasty, the Persians took a great part in Oriental Navigation. There was a considerable Indian trade up the Persian Gulf and by land to Palmyra; and it seems to have been under the Parthian influence that the Persians overcame their horror of the Sea, and rose to be the greatest Sea-traders of the East. The trade connection between the Thana coast and the Parthian rulers in the Persian Gulf has a special interest at this period, as in the latter part of the first Century after Christ, the Andhras were driven from the Konkan and North Deccan by foreigners apparently from Northern India, who founded the Indo-Parthian Dynasty" ("Parsis of Ancient India", P. 26, by Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala.)

The above passage is somewhat important for our purpose in as much as it shows that the Persians were the greatest Sea-traders of the East, and that the Iranian ships used to come right upto the Thana Creek—a distance not far from Sanjan; besides,

we also find that the Parthian Emperors from Northern India had conquered Konkan and Deccan, and there is therefore no doubt that the Iranians had their settlements in Konkan and Deccan during the Parthian rule which lasted from 256 B. C. to 226 A. D.

- (b) Mr. S. K. Hodiwala in his book "The Parsis of Ancient India" at page 39, writes that "If Burgess's explanation (Note I, Page 76, Volume IV, "Archæological Survey") be followed, then the 447 Plate of Shiladitya VI (Ruler of North Gujarat and Kathiawad) would be 642 A. D. and the Sassanians may after all have destroyed Valabhi" ("Bombay Gazeteer, VII, p. 274), Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, volume VII, pp. 35-36; and the same printed in "A Glimpse in the work of the B. B. R. A. S. during the last 100 years from a Parsi point of view" by Sir Jiwanji J. Modi:—

"Valabhi Dynasty, whose era dating from A. D. 319 is generally admitted. Col. Todd gives A. D. 524 as the date of the sack of Valabhi, and the evidence from their coins show that their (Valabhi) empire continued atleast some two centuries. Their downfall was attributed by Col. Todd to an army of Parthians (Zoroastrians) and Scythians, but Mr. Elphinstone has suggested that the invaders may have been the Sassanians, probably under Naushirwan (the Just); and in this event we have doubtless an explanation of the occurrence of the "Gadhia" Coins already alluded to. Barbarised as these are, the attempt to delineate the bust and Fire Altar of the Sassanides is evident; and it is certain therefore, either that the Sassanian Monarchy obtained a footing in Gujarat or as is more probable, that an off-shoot of the dynasty (Sassanian) succeeded in establishing an empire there."

"The commencement or the end of the Seventh Century of our era, and close with a race of Sassanian origin reigning in Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat".

It may be noted here that even after the defeat of the Iranians at the hands of the Arabs in 641 A. D., the Iranian Emperor Yazdegard Sheriar had fought against the Arabs till his death in 651 A. D. In the old Indian History we usually do not get the correct dates of the events but a difference of some 10 to 25 years is generally noticed. It is therefore quite likely that the fall of the Valabhi dynasty in North Gujarat and Kathiawad may have taken place during the Sassanian rule; "or as is more probable an off-shoot of the Sassanian dynasty may have succeeded in establishing an empire there (in Gujarat and Kathiawad)". If the end of the Valabhi dynasty was brought by the Sassanians or some branch of it, then it is quite obvious that the Iranians had their settlements in Gujarat and Kathiawad at that time, and the batches of our Parsi ancestors had therefore resorted to Gujarat and Kathiawad to find shelter among their own co-religionists.

We also notice from the Persian History that the Sassanian Emperors Behram Ghor (from 420 A. D. to 440 A. D.) and Naushirwan Adal (from 531 A. D. to 579 A. D.) had extended their conquests in several parts of India, and it was therefore quite likely that there were Iranian Settlements in India for the Military as well as for the Iranian civil population, more especially when there was considerable trade between these two countries by sea and land. Firdusi also states that during Behram Ghor's visit to India, the Iranian merchants living in India had waited upon him in the form of deputation. On the downfall of the Sassanian Empire, the Iranian ruling princes and the settlers in India could, under no circumstance, have left this country, but on the other hand they must have consolidated their position and continued to live here as before. It was certainly not desirable for them to leave India for Iran on the downfall of the Sassanian empire, lest they might be persecuted and oppressed by the Arab conquerors.

- (c) The Country of Sind and part of Hind. "Some parts (of Hind and Sind) belong to Guebres (Persian 'Gebran'), and a greater portion of this country to (Persian 'Kaferan') Kafars (Infidels) and Idolators (Persian

"Bot-Parastan"). (The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, an Arabian Traveller of the Tenth Century: translated by Sir Ousley Kt. L.L. D.: pp. 146-147).

The above extract clearly shows that some parts of Hind and Sind belonged to Guebres (Zoroastrians) in the Tenth Century. It is therefore quite indisputable that in 1000 A. D. the Iranians had their independent States and Colonies in Hind and Sind, and that a good number of Zoroastrians lived in 1000 A. D. in some parts of Hind and Sind. It is therefore quite possible that we, the present-day Parsis are their descendants. It is also quite likely that some bands of Iranians may have come to India simply to save themselves from religious persecution and oppression at the hands of their Arab conquerors, knowing full well that their co-religionists, settled in some parts of Hind and Sind, would give them shelter and protection.

- (d) "In Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal (A. D. 902-906) it is stated that some part of Hind and Sind belonged to the Guebres". Elliot says "the word 'Guebre' meant a Non-Mussalman generally and a Zoroastrian particularly." Another known writer Masudi (A. D. 916) states that in his time there were many Fire-Temples in Sind and India." (Misar-bin-Mohalhil, Elliot's History of India, 1-97. Bom. Gaz. IX, part 11, 185).

Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala in his famous book "The Parsis of Ancient India" at page 33 writes:—

"We shall see hereafter that according to the Arab traveller Misar bin Mukhalihal there were Fire-Temples in Cheul in A. D. 950, which date is given as A. D. 942 in Bom. Gaz. Part I, pp. 216-217."

The above extract makes it quite clear that there were settlements of the Zoroastrians in Hind and Sind. The existence of many Fire Temples in India and Sind in 916 A. D. also proves that there were settlements of the Parsis in India, as the

Parsi immigrants in this country could not be expected to build a large number of Fire-Temples in India and Sind between the dates of their landing (i. e. 697 A. D.) and 916 A. D. From the Parsi chronological records we find that till the year 916 A. D. we had established only one Fire-Temple named "Iranshah" (in 721 A. D.), while the other Fire-Temples seem to have been built by them after the year 1765 A. D. I think we have been able to prove this much from the above extracts that there was Zoroastrian population in Hind and Sind and that they had a large number of Fire-Temples in this country prior to the supposed landing of the Parsis in Gujarat and Kathiawad.

- (e) "According to Cunningham's Ancient Geography, page 319, there was a Pahlav (Pahelvi-Parsi) King by name Krashna ruling over Elapur and Somnath in 720 A. D." ("Iranshah" Addenda pages 684 (a) to (c) by Mr. S. K. Hodiwala).

We observe from the above passage that even after the landing of the Parsis in 697 A. D., a Parsi King by name Krashna was ruling over Elapur and Somnath in 720 A. D. I hope some of my readers will not get frightened over the name "Krashna", for if they will please refer to our oldest Farvardin Yashta they will find 'Krashna' and such other names included therein.

- (f) Mr. G. K. Nariman, a great Sanskrit and Avesta Scholar, in his 'Notes' on the "Parsis of Ancient India", at page xv, writes "Since then I have looked into the cognate Bhavishya Purana and although portions of the present texts of Bhavishya Purana are palpable interpolations, the light it throws on the tribe or tribes, whose customs so forcibly remind us of our own, represents practices of a tolerable antiquity. It admits of little doubt that there were settlements in India of the Parsis before the conquest of Persia by Islam".

It may be noted here that Bhavishya Puranas were not completed before the middle of the 7th Century A. D. and none of the Puranas before 400 A. D. Mr. G. K. Nariman has therefore

very ably pointed out even from the Hindu Shashtras that there were Settlements of the Parsis in India before the Iranians were defeated by the Arabs. It is therefore quite evident that the Parsi emigrants from Iran when they landed in Gujarat and Kathiawad must have received all help and support from their co-religionists who had settled in several parts of Hind and Sind during the Sassanian rule.

- (g) In his paper on the ancient Dynasties of Kathiawad and Gujerat, Mr. Justice Newton remarks:—"Indo-Sassanian Coins are found in Malwa and Guzerat.....The earliest coins are of large size and their imitation of the Sassanian money is direct and obvious. But the latter coins depart more from the original, so that it is not easy at first sight to trace their descent.....Mr. Codrington, Secretary of the Bombay Asiatic Society, selected a series of coins to show the gradual change of the Persian head on the obverse and the Fire-Altar on the reverse of the Sassanian coins into the oblong button and the series of dots and lines found on the Gadhia Coins." (Cunningham's Archaeological Reports, XI, p. 176, Bombay B. Royal Asiatic Society's Journal XII, 325).

"Cunningham came across 13 Fire-Altar Indo-Sassanian Coins at Nagri (about 11 miles north of Chitor) and to them he assigns as the date, the 7th Century to the commencement of the 8th Century A. D." (Archaeological Reports, VI, 200-201.)

In the above extracts we have ample evidence to show that the Indo-Sassanian Coins bearing the Fire-Altar, etc. were in use in Malwa and Gujarat till the commencement of 800 A. D. The question, therefore, obviously arises that the Indo-Sassanian Coins would not have been in use unless there were Iranian or Sassanian States and Colonies in those Provinces.

- (h) "According to one account a large body of Persians landed in Western India early in 7th Century, and from one of their leaders whom Wilford believed to have been a son of Khosru Parviz, the family of Udaipur is

said to have sprung" (For authorities, see Bombay-Gazetteer XIII P. 248.)

It will be rather interesting to note from the above extract that a large body of Persians had arrived in Western India in the 7th Century, and it is also not unlikely that the family of Udaipur must have sprung from one of the Iranian Princes.

- (i) General Cunningham has noted that the influence of the Sassanians was most strongly felt in Sindh and Western Rajputana, where India and Persia came into direct contact; but in North-Western India and the Punjab, it was disseminated by the White-Huns and the Little Yuchi, who successively held the Kabul valley.

The former were certainly Fire-Worshippers, and the latter were apparently Brahminists, but both had adopted the style of the Sassanian Coinage, and as the date of the Sassanian influence is well known, it is a convenient and well-marked distinction to call it the Indo-Sassanian period. This period, Cunningham extends down to A. D. 700, shortly after which the direct Persian influence was brought to a close in Western India by the Mahomedan conquest of Sindh and Multan in A. D. 711. (See Cunningham's Archaeological Reports, III, page 5).

In the first place, we observe from the above passage that there was strong Sassanian influence in Sindh and Western Rajputana and that the White Huns were no doubt Fire-Worshippers. Please note that the Indo-Sassanian rule extended upto 711 A. D.

- (i) "The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer notices the traditional connection between Valabhi and the Ranas of Mewad with the Sassanian Kings of Persia (A. D. 250-650). In support of the tradition, Abul Fazal (A. D. 1590) says that the Ranas of Mewad consider themselves descendants of the Sassanian Naushirwan (A. D. 531-579), and Todd quotes fuller details from the Persian

History of Naasser-al-Umra.....The link between Naushirwan's son Naushizad, who fled from his father in A. D. 570 receives support in the statement of Procopius, that Naushizad found shelter in Belapatan in Gurjaristan,It seems best to look for the legend in the Fire-Symbols in use on Kathiawad and Mewad Coins. These Symbols betray from about the Sixth Century a more direct Sassanian influence." (Bombay Gazetteer, I Part I, page 102, and "The Parsis of Ancient India" by Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala, pp. 23-24.)

The above extract distinctly proves that there was traditional connection between the Valabhi and the Ranas of Mewad on one side and the Sassanian Kings on the other from 250 A. D. to 650 A. D. The Fire-Symbols on the coins of Kathiawad and Mewad lend additional support to the same.

- (k) "If the number of the debased Gadhias (Coins), which from time to time come to light, may be looked on as indicative of rule extending over a century or two, our researches hitherto will bring us down to the commencement or end of the Seventh Century of our era, and close with a race of Sassanian origin reigning in Kutch, Kathiawar and Guzerat". (Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Journal VII, pp. 30-36).

"Gadhia" coins were used in India during the reign of the Sassanian King, Behram Ghor. There is no doubt that some branch of the Sassanians had ruled in Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat upto the commencement or end of the 7th Century A. D. The above statement lends great support to the general belief that some bands of Parsis had left Iran for India in 697 A. D. as they were sure of getting shelter and protection from their co-religionists ruling in Kutch, Kathiawad and Gujarat at the time.

- (l) "Punched or Punch-marked Coins, i. e. the coins in which the design is punched into the metal, are long since referred to as pointing to Iranian influence in India. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji said on the subject of these

coins: "Some of the Sassanian Kings (between the 6th and 8th Centuries) may have established their rule somewhere in these districts (Malwa) and had their currency issued, and their successors (the Chauda and Chalukya of Anhilwada) retained and copied the same type for their coinage."

("Asiatic Papers", Part II, p. 254, by Sir Jiwaji J. Modi).

We have some more evidence in the above extract to show that some branch of the Sassanians may have established their sovereignty in some districts of Malwa between the 6th and 8th Centuries. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was a great archaeologist and his above statement certainly deserves consideration.

- (m) "We do not learn anything from Firdousi's Shahnameh about the loss of any territories on the frontiers of India either by Firouz or by Kobad. Tabari and Masoudi also do not speak directly of any loss of Persian territories on the frontiers of India. Tabari indirectly refers to such a loss. While speaking of the conquests of Naushirwan, he says: "Then Naushirwan desired to possess equally a certain portion of Hindustan. He made a large army, with a distinguished General at its head, march against Hindustan (and) against Serandib where lived its king This Indian King surrendered to him all the countries in the neighbourhood of Oman which had already been ceded to Persia in the time of Behramgour" (Translated from Zotenberg's French Translation, Vol. II, p. 221, chapter 42; "Asiatic Papers" Part II, pp. 347-348, by Sir Jiwaji J. Modi.)

Naushirwan Adal ruled from 531 A.D. to 579 A.D. It appears that the Indian territories which were conquered by Behramgour were lost during the reign of Kobad. From the above passage we observe that Naushirwan re-conquered those territories and established his authority over them. Masoudi states that "the Kings of Hind and Sindh and of all the countries in the

North and South concluded peace with the King of Persia (Naushirwan)". There is nothing to show from the Sassanian History that the Indian territories conquered by Naushirwan, were at any time lost during his successors' reign (from 579 A.D. to 641 A.D.). This obviously leads us to believe that even after the downfall of the Sassanians, these Indian Provinces must have remained intact under the Sassanian Governors or some branch of the Sassanian must have ruled over them for some centuries.

- (n) In 'Iranshah' at Addenda pages 684 (a) to (c) Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala quotes "Gaudhvi", a book written by Rao Bahdur Shanker Pandurang Pandit in which it is stated that "the Parsis occupying some part of Kathiawad and Sindh were conquered by Yashovarma. When the blood ran to their faces, it appeared blue" (Intro. Page 104)..... "Yashovarma then marches upon the Parsikas and conquers them after a very long and hard-fought battle, in which many of his enemies were slain" (Page 27).

From the above, Mr. Hodiwala comes to the conclusion "that there were Parsi Kingdoms in Kathiawad and Sindh and that the Parsis were defeated in 700 A.D. by Yashovarma." He also states that "the Iranian emigrants had left Iran for Gujarat as their co-religionists were ruling at the time in certain parts of Gujarat and Kathiawad."

The above extract clearly shows, nay proves, that when some bands of Parsis came to India there were some Parsi independent States and Colonies in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Sindh.

My only object in quoting the above extracts at length from the well-known scholars and travellers is to thresh out the question thoroughly regarding the supposed landing of the Parsis in Kathiawad and Gujarat. Erwad Jamshedji Dadabhai Nader-shah, one of the great scholars of Oriental languages and Zoroastrian scriptures, has very ably proved as shown in some of the above extracts the fallacy of the story contained in the Kaseh-i-Sanjan, and at the same time remarked that "It is

regretted that even the learned Parsis take this legend (Kisseh-i-Sanjan) for a true history without any ascertainment of the reliability of the stories narrated therein". I think a good number of Parsis in these days of advanced education and re-search-work, would certainly hesitate to accept all that is contained in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan when the events mentioned therein do not coincide with the Historical records.

Another eminent and learned scholar Mr. Pallonji B. Desai in his work "Kisseh-i-Sanjan—Ek Tavarikhi Tapas", has also come to the same conclusion that some of the important events narrated in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan are not tenable on historical investigations.

That great Professor of Sanskrit, Sir Bhandarkar has also very wisely remarked that "the evidence for determining what the name was of the Chalukya Prince, who received the Parsis at Navsari (?) is meagre. It is quite possible, that facts belonging to different periods or different conditions of things were jumbled together."

It will be quite evident from the above that any intelligent person would certainly decline to accept the legend of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan as true, more especially when it was written about 900 years after the supposed landing of the Parsis and that too from the oral narration of a Mobed (Priest). On the other hand, in the extracts quoted above there is ample evidence to show that when the supposed bands of Parsi immigrants came to Kathiawad and Gujarat, the Parsis had their independent States and Colonies in those parts. Besides, we observe from some of the passages quoted above that there was a large population of Parsis in Sindh and Punjab prior to the supposed immigration of the Parsis, and this Parsi population had remained for a very long time in those Provinces even after the fall of the Sassanian Empire. In support of the above we have also the evidence of a large number of Fire-Temples existing at the time in India. It is therefore quite possible that the large Parsi population of Sindh and Punjab must have gradually shifted themselves to Gujarat and a good number

of the present-day Parsis must certainly be the descendants of the old stock settled in Sindh, Punjab, Gujrat, Kathiawad and other places in India.

Let us now take up those so-called 16 Shlokas:—

THOSE SIXTEEN SHLOKAS. — 24

It is said that the Parsi pilgrims lived in Diu for 19 years from 697 A. D. to 716 A. D. In the year 711 A. D. Mhomed Imamtudin Kasim invaded and conquered Sindh. It was through fear of oppression from the Arab invaders that the Parsis left Diu by Sea for Gujarat. On their voyage they met with storm but at last they succeeded in reaching the shores of Sanjan. According to Kisseh-i-Sanjan, one of their learned priests approached the then ruling Hindu Rajah by name Jadi Rana with some presents and asked permission to allow the Parsi immigrants to land in his territory. The Rajah allowed them to do so on certain conditions, one of which was to give account of their religion and customs. The other conditions were that—

- (2nd) they should give up their Irani language and adopt the Gujarati language.
- (3rd) The Parsi women should wear Saris according to Hindu women.
- (4th) The Parsi immigrants should disarm;
- (5th) The Parsis should perform marriage and other auspicious ceremonies in the evening.

It is not known how the writer of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan knew of the above conditions. It is generally believed that from the Sixteen Shlokas somebody (probably some Hindu) may have concocted the conditions.

Dastur Aspandiar Kamdin of Broach had published "Kadim Tarikh-i-Parsi Kasar" in 1826 in which he had incorporated the Sixteen Shlokas. As it will be rather interesting to note the opinion of that distinguished scholar Reverend Dr. A. Fuhrer on that book, I give the same below:—

"These Shlokas in which the learned Dastur explained the Mazdyasnian religion to King Jadi Rana of Sanjan form the oldest documents relating to the Parsis in India, and it is much to be regretted that the Sanskrit text as found in all the manuscripts at my disposal is very corrupt. The Sanskrit text published in Gujarati characters by Aspandiarji Kamdinji of Broach in his Kadim Tarikh Parshioni Kasar, Surat, pp. 129-146, is not worthy of being looked at." (Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Journal, Volume 16, p. 84).

From Dr. Fuhrer's above remarks I leave the reader to form his own opinion on the same. One thing that strikes us most is that Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdin's manuscripts in which the 16 Shlokas are found, were written generally in the 18th century, that is nearly one Thousand years after the supposed landing of the Parsis in Sanjan.

According to the legend it is said that Nairiyosang Dhaval had composed the Sixteen Shlokas, and recited the same before Jadi Rana. It is certainly impossible to believe even with a wide stretch of imagination that when the Parsi pilgrims landed in Sanjan, Nairiyosang Dhaval knew Sanskrit.

From some of the manuscripts it appears that the composer of the Shlokas was Akadharu or Aka Andhyaru.

About Akadharu or Aka Andhyaru, Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I. C. S. (Retired), a profound scholar of Sanskrit and Avesta literature, in the Preface to "The Parsis of Ancient India" (by Shapurji K. Hodiwala) writes:—

"The oldest manuscript known, which contains only the first Two Shlokas, was written between 1654 and 1694 A. D. Other manuscripts containing all the Sixteen Shlokas are of the 18th Century or later, and some of them give the name of the author as Aka Dharu or Ako Adhyaru."

"Ako Adhyaru may be the name of a Hindu. My friend Mr. N. B. Divatia, a recognised authority on the Gujarati language informs me that Ako is a Hindu name, though not

a common one, for example, a Pol (Street) in Ahmednabad is named from Aka Sheth. He also informs me that the word Adhyaru besides being the surname of some Hindu families, is applied to a Hindu priest, who at present performs the humble functions of delivering invitations to dinners, caste-meetings, and the like. The word may be derived from the Sanskrit Adhvaryu, and Mr. Divatia is prepared to accept this derivation at present in spite of some philological misgivings. An Adhvaryu is a priest who institutes the Adhvara sacrifice. This name is especially applied to the Soma sacrifice. As the Parsi Haoma ceremony, the most important part of the Yasna (Ijeshni) ritual, is the equivalent of the Hindu Soma, one can understand how a Parsi priest came to be called Adhvaryu."

Mr. Hodiwala has himself drawn attention to the peculiar Hindu expressions 'Jahvi-Snana' in the 13th Shloka, 'Pañch-Gavya' in the 14th and 'Hormizda-mukham' in the 16th, and I will not repeat his remarks. "As the Shlokas were written presumably for the information of Hindus, the use of such expressions as Pitri, Sradha and Homa for equivalent Parsi terms would be natural even for a Parsi, but this explanation can hardly apply to the terms just mentioned, and still less to the other facts noted above."

It will be quite obvious from the above, that Akadharu or Aka Adhyaru was not a Parsi as is believed by some of the ignorant Parsis and Hindus, but was a Gujarati Brahmin. We also note that the Shlokas were not composed at one and the same time but at different periods between the dates 1654 A. D. to 1800 A. D. I do not think any man of ordinary intelligence would ever attach any importance to these so called Shlokas more especially when they were composed after more than a thousand years from the date of the supposed landing of the Parsis in Sanjan.

Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala in his famous work "Iranshah" at pp. 50, 66-67, writes:—

"According to mythology the Sixteen Shlokas were composed by Akadharu or Aka Andhyaru and not by Nairiyosang

Diaval as is ordinarily supposed." "The Shlokas were not recited by any of the Parsi immigrants before the Rajah, as they (Parsis) had practically no knowledge of the Sanskrit when they landed in Sanjan. These Shlokas seem to have been composed some centuries after their landing".

"In the Shlokas the sanctity of the 'Kusti' (Sacred Thread) has been compared with the sacred waters of Ganga, the ends of the 'Kusti' with the mouth of the serpent, and Dev-mukh देवमुख with the face of Ahura Mazda."

Mr. M. P. Khareghat in his Preface to "The Parsis of Ancient India" at p. vi. writes:—

"In the Third Shloka Ako compares the Kusti to a snake, an idea entirely foreign and even repulsive to a Parsi, for the snake is a prominent object of the evil creation. The idea belongs to the Maga Sun-Worshippers of India, and is fully developed in the Bhavishya Puran (Chapter 142 of the first Parva), where the sacred girdle is derived from the snake Vasuki."

I have entered the above extracts at length, obviously with a view to show the hollowness of the claim sometimes brought forward by some foolish people that the Parsis were received in India on certain conditions. It is quite clear from the above extracts that the Shlokas were at no time recited by the Parsi immigrants, but they were composed some centuries after. I do not think any man of ordinary intelligence would ever agree and accept the Shlokas as genuine, more especially when the Parsis had no knowledge of the Sanskrit nor of the Hindu Shastras at the time of their supposed landing. It is really shocking to think that a Parsi would compare his sacred "Kusti" which is more dear and precious to him than anything in the world, to a snake. The only conclusion that one can draw from the Shlokas is that either Ako or some other Hindu after the lapse of more than a thousand years, might have tried his hand at such composition in broken Sanskrit.

Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwalla in "Iranshahi" at pp. 68-69 writes "No such conditions as the adoption of Hindu Sari's by

Parsi women, and the performance of marriage ceremony in the evening, etc. were imposed by the Rajah on the Parsis. All these conditions seem to be pure and simple fabrication."

It is rather surprising to find from the above that no dress for the male members of the Parsis was imposed by the supposed Rajah Jadi Rana. I do not think any more remarks are necessary on the above as Mr. Hodiwalla after deep study and research work has come to the conclusion that the so-called conditions were "pure fabrications."

We have noted in the preceding pages that upto now no scholar of repute has been able to adduce strong and reliable evidence to support the legend of the Kisseh-i Sanjan and it would therefore be puerile to attach great importance and weight to that Kisseh. Similarly, in the case of the Sixteen Slokas we have observed above that they were composed by some Hindu Brahmin named Ako Adhyaru in broken Sanskrit, and which on careful study and minute investigation, result more in their rejection than in their acceptance.

In the end, I regret to say that some of our Parsi Scholars, in their zeal and enthusiasm to prove the authenticity of the legend of "Kisseh-Sanjan", try to twist facts and make fanciful interpretations of some of the words from the Kisseh. I would therefore urge them to study "Kisseh Sanjan" quite with an open and dispassionate mind, and to devote a part of their time and energy to more research work in order to trace history of the Iranian (Parsi) settlers in India.

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